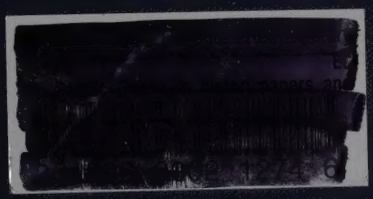

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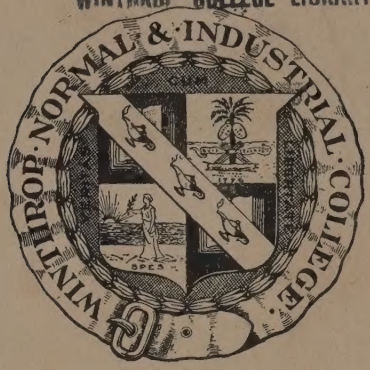

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THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN HISTORY

JAMES R. DAVIS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Agent for the Sale of This Book
on the Western Coast

THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN HISTORY

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES PRESENTED AT THE
PANAMA-PACIFIC HISTORICAL CONGRESS
HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, BERKELEY
AND PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA
JULY 19-23, 1915

EDITED BY

H. MORSE STEPHENS

SATHER PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

HERBERT E. BOLTON

PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The holding of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco in 1915 brought about the meeting of many national and international congresses upon the Pacific Coast. Among them was the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, of which the volume now submitted to the public presents the record.

Students and teachers of history living upon the Pacific Coast had long been desirous of keeping in closer touch with their colleagues in other parts of the United States, and more than one invitation had been extended to the American Historical Association to hold its annual meeting at San Francisco. The great majority of the regular attendants at the meetings of the Association felt, however, that it was inadvisable to attempt to take the Association so far away at the time of its regular annual session during the Christmas vacation, and at the meeting in New Orleans in 1903 it was resolved instead to authorize the establishment of a Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. This Branch has held annual meetings and has been a potent force in maintaining friendly relations between historical scholars upon the Pacific Coast, while the fact that it was organized as a Branch of the national Association has emphasized the solidarity of historians throughout the country. The establishment of the Branch did not entirely meet the wishes of Pacific Coast historians, who still desired to make their work and themselves better known to their colleagues in the East and Middle West.

The idea of holding an International Exposition to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal was first suggested in 1910, and the members of the Pacific Coast Branch eagerly seized on the idea in the hope that such an Exposition might give an opportunity for the long-desired meeting of the American Historical Association on the Pacific Coast. At the Indianapolis meeting of the Association in 1910, expression was given to this hope and

an attempt was made to place the Historical Association on record in favor of San Francisco in preference to any other place as the site of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. At the Buffalo meeting of the Association in 1911, after San Francisco had been determined upon as the Exposition city, a definite invitation from the Pacific Coast Branch was submitted to the Council of the American Historical Association. At the Boston meeting in 1912, the invitation was discussed both in the Council and in the Association, and it was definitely decided by a vote of the Association that a special meeting should be held in San Francisco in 1915, and Mr. Rudolph Taussig, the Secretary of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, was appointed chairman of the local committee to make arrangements for the meeting. Definite plans were laid before the Association at the Charleston meeting in 1913. It was then stated that the Pacific Coast historians were contemplating the development of the special meeting of the American Historical Association into an international congress of historians, and that correspondence had been opened with distinguished European scholars in the hope of obtaining their presence. The idea had taken shape that, since the Panama-Pacific Exposition was to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal, it would be fitting that the historical congress should confine its papers and discussions to the history of the Pacific Ocean and the countries upon its shores, both Asiatic and American, instead of dealing with matters of general history. Negotiations had been opened with the American Asiatic Association and the Asiatic Institute with a view to coöperation, and a large programme embracing the activities of all European peoples in the Pacific Ocean area was blocked out. Favorable replies began to come in from European scholars and everything seemed to promise a great international historical congress when the European war broke out in the summer of 1914. In spite of the bitter disappointment at the sudden diminution of the possibilities of the historical meeting, the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association resolved to persevere; an outline programme of a Panama-Pacific Historical Congress was laid before the Council of the Association at its Chicago meeting in 1914 and accepted, and a Committee on Programme was appointed.

The definite work of organization was then begun. The members of the Council of the Academy of Pacific Coast History consented to act on the General Committee and to stand behind the Congress financially; generous help was given by Mr. Willard Straight of New York, by Mr. Stephen T. Mather of Chicago, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, and by Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, the veteran historian of the Pacific Coast; a committee of ladies was formed to superintend the social side of the Congress; and Mr. J. J. Van Nostrand, University Fellow in History at the University of California, was appointed Secretary to the Congress. Mr. James A. Barr, Director of Congresses at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, extended the service of his office to the Congress and was of the greatest assistance in the preliminary work. Mr. Frederick McCormick, Secretary of the Asiatic Institute, took entire charge of his share of the work of organization, and Professors David P. Barrows, Herbert E. Bolton, and Frederick J. Teggart of the University of California, Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon, and Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University undertook to arrange the different sessions of the Congress.

The outbreak of the European war having shattered the original hopes of the promoters of the Congress for a large representation from Europe, it was resolved to concentrate the invitations outside the United States to Spain, the Spanish-speaking Pacific Coast states, British Columbia, China, Japan, and Australasia. Thanks to the kindly mediation of Count del Valle de Salazar, the Spanish Consul in San Francisco, and to an official invitation sent by Mr. W. J. Bryan, the Secretary of State, the Spanish Government delegated Señor Don Rafael Altamira, Professor of American Institutions at the University of Madrid, to represent Spain at the Congress, and the unwearied efforts of Professor Treat of Stanford University, supported by those of Mr. Numano, the Japanese Consul-General in San Francisco, procured the delegation by the Imperial Government of Japan of Professor Naojiro Murakami, President of the Tokyo Foreign Language School. Efforts made in South America were less successful. The situation in Mexico prevented the attendance of any Mexican delegate, while Senator Don Gonzalo Bulnes from Chile and Señor Don Carlos Antonio

Romero from Peru, though anxiously expected until the last moment, failed to put in an appearance. Through the kindness of Mr. Enrique Grau, the Peruvian Consul in San Francisco, a paper was contributed by Señor Don E. Larrabure y Unanue, President of the Historical Institute of Lima, Peru, which had already received a limited circulation in a Report on the Archives of the Indies and the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville. No delegate could be procured from China, but Professor Schafer of the University of Oregon procured the promise of a paper from Judge Howay of British Columbia and Professor Treat of Stanford University a contribution from Professor Macmillan Brown of New Zealand.

The result of these exertions was first shown in the distribution to the members of the American Historical Association, the American Asiatic Association, and of the Asiatic Institute of the following circular and outline of programme, dated March 6, 1915, which is here reprinted for purposes of record.

PANAMA–PACIFIC HISTORICAL CONGRESS

The celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco affords a suitable opportunity for dealing with the history of the Pacific Ocean area. The Panama Canal must inevitably change the relations of the American, the Asiatic, and the Australasian countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean toward each other. One era of Pacific Ocean history comes to an end; another begins. It has therefore been resolved to hold a historical congress to emphasize the main features in the era which has closed forever. The American Historical Association resolved at its meeting in Boston two years ago to mark its sense of the historic importance of the Panama Canal by holding a special meeting in San Francisco in 1915; and a fortunate combination of circumstances has made it possible to combine this special meeting of the Historical Association with special meetings of the American Asiatic Association and Asiatic Institute. The week beginning July 19th has been assigned for the holding of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress. As will be seen by the outline of the programme prepared, the first day of the Congress will be devoted to the consideration of the history and interests of the oldest civilization upon the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, the civilization of China. On the second day the three associations will meet together in the morning to consider the history of the Philippine Islands under its oldest Asiatic conditions, under Spain, and in its most

recent development under the United States of America. On the evening of the second day attention will be drawn to the conflict among European nations in the Pacific Ocean up to the date when the United States definitely became a Pacific Coast power by the annexation of California. On the morning of the third day attention will be drawn to the Pacific Northwestern Coast, and weight will be laid upon the history of Russia in Alaska, of Great Britain in British Columbia, and of the two northwestern States of America, Washington and Oregon. On the afternoon of the third day papers will be read by eminent scholars from Mexico, Peru, and Chile dealing with the part played by the Spanish-speaking states in the development of the Pacific Ocean; and in the evening, the Spanish historian, Professor Rafael Altamira of the University of Madrid, Spain, will sum up, as a culmination of the day's proceedings, the importance of the part played by Spain in the history of the Pacific Ocean. The meetings on the fourth day will be held, on the kind invitation of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, at the University of California, at Berkeley. In the morning papers will be read upon the exploration of the Northern Pacific and upon the settlement of California; and in the afternoon advantage will be taken of the presence of a large number of teachers of history attending the Summer Session of the University of California to hold a teachers' meeting, in which the problems of the teaching of history in schools will be discussed, both by California teachers and by some of the visiting professors from the East. In the evening a public session will be held in San Francisco under the direction of the Native Sons of the Golden West, a society founded for the encouragement and study of local history; and an address will be delivered by the President of this order upon the history of California. The sessions of the fifth day will be held at Stanford University by the kind invitation of President John C. Branner and will be devoted to papers and discussions upon the relations of the Far East, Australasia, and Japan with the Pacific Ocean. On the final evening the event which is to be chiefly commemorated by the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress will be dealt with by the Secretary of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Entertainments and excursions are being planned for the sixth day, which will conclude the session of the Congress. A memorial volume will be published, containing the papers and addresses intended for preservation, which will form a permanent record of the importance attributed by historians to the chief features of the old and isolated Pacific Ocean of the era before the Canal was made.

The meetings in San Francisco will generally be held at the Inside Inn, but it is expected that use will be made of other buildings of the Exposition, which contain objects of historical value, such as the Chinese and Japanese concessions.

While the headquarters of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress will be at the Inside Inn at the Exposition, supplementary headquarters will

be opened at the Shattuck Hotel in Berkeley for the convenience of attendants upon the Summer Session of the University of California.

The announcement of the courses of lectures on history to be delivered at the Summer Session is enclosed with this outline of the programme of the Historical Congress, for it is believed that many members of the American Historical Association may be glad to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Summer Session and by the Historical Congress.

Information with regard to the journey to California, and with regard to the accommodations there, will be gladly given by Mr. J. J. Van Nostrand, the Secretary of the Congress, to those members of the associations who fill out the card herewith enclosed.

It is hoped that the completed programme, containing the names of the readers of papers and the titles of their papers, will be circulated among the members of the Associations before the end of May.

March 6, 1915.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAMME

Monday, July 19th

Morning Session — Meeting of the American Asiatic Association.

Relations between China and the United States.

Luncheon to the Chinese and Japanese delegates, Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

Afternoon Session — Meeting of the Asiatic Institute.

Chinese History and the Relations of China with the Pacific Ocean. (Under the direction of Mr. Frederick McCormick, Secretary of the Asiatic Institute.)

Evening Session.

Address: Asiatic Interests in the Pacific Ocean, by Willard Straight, President of the American Asiatic Association and of the Asiatic Institute.

Tuesday, July 20th

Morning Session — Joint Meeting of the American Asiatic Association, the Asiatic Institute, and the American Historical Association.

The Philippine Islands and Their History as a Part of the History of the Pacific Ocean Area, under Spain and the United States. (Under the direction of Professor David P. Barrows of the University of California, Director of Education in the Philippine Islands from 1903 to 1909.)

Afternoon Session — Reception to the Delegates and Members of the American Asiatic Association, the Asiatic Institute, and the American Historical Association.

At the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

Evening Session.

Address: The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean, by Professor Henry Morse Stephens, of the University of California, President of the American Historical Association.

Wednesday, July 21st

Morning Session — Meeting of the American Historical Association.

The Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska in Their Relation with the Pacific Ocean. (Under the direction of Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon.)

Luncheon to the delegates from Spain, Mexico, Peru and Chile, Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

Afternoon Session — Meeting of the American Historical Association.

Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean. (Under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California.)

Evening Session.

Address: Spain and the Pacific Ocean, by Señor Don Rafael Altamira, Professor of American Institutions in the University of Madrid, Spain.

Thursday, July 22d

Meetings at the University of California, Berkeley

Morning Session — Meeting of the American Historical Association.

Exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and Settlement of California (Under the direction of Professor Frederick J. Teggart of the University of California.)

Afternoon Session — Meeting of the California History Teachers' Association.

The Teaching of History in Schools. (Under the direction of Professor W. A. Morris of the University of California, and of Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University.)

Evening Session (in San Francisco).

Address: The History of California, by the Honorable John F. Davis, President of the Native Sons of the Golden West.

Friday, July 23d

Meetings at Stanford University, Palo Alto

Morning Session — Meeting of the American Historical Association.

Australasia and the Further East in Their Relation with the Pacific Ocean. (Under the direction of Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University.)

Afternoon Session — Meeting of the American Historical Association.

The History of Japan and of its Relations with the Pacific Ocean. (Under the direction of Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University.)

Evening Session (in San Francisco).

Address: The History of the Panama Canal and Its Significance in the History of the Pacific Ocean, by Rudolph J. Taussig, Secretary of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

During the weeks following the distribution of this circular and outline of programme, many changes and additions were made to the programme, of which the most noteworthy were the insertion of a meeting of the New Mexico Historical Society, through the exertions of Governor Bradford L. Prince and Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa of Stanford University; the definite organization of a meeting of the California History Teachers' Association by Professor W. A. Morris of the University of California and Professor H. L. Cannon of Stanford University; the support promised by the local Order of the Native Sons of the Golden West and the appointment of a committee of the Order, presided over by Mr. Roland M. Roche; and the engagement made by Theodore Roosevelt, a former president of the American Historical Association, to be present to speak on the negotiations which led to the making of the Panama Canal, to celebrate the completion of which the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Fran-

cisco had been started and the holding of a Panama-Pacific Historical Congress had been designed.

The Congress held its sessions from July 19 to July 23, and the formal programme, with the names of the members of the different committees which contributed to make the Congress a success, is now reprinted.

PANAMA–PACIFIC HISTORICAL CONGRESS

SPECIAL MEETINGS OF

American Asiatic Association and Asiatic Institute

JULY 19–20, 1915

AND OF

American Historical Association

JULY 20–23, 1915

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ASIATIC INSTITUTE

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Secretary of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition

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Guy C. Earl	Richard M. Hotaling	Sigmund Stern
Joseph D. Grant	Livingston Jenks	

Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association
President Benjamin Ide Wheeler
Members of the Department of History of the University of California

Chancellor David Starr Jordan
President John C. Branner
Members of the Department of History of Stanford University

SECRETARY TO THE PANAMA–PACIFIC HISTORICAL CONGRESS

J. J. Van Nostrand, 2737 Dwight Way, Berkeley, California
to whom all communications should be addressed

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Eugene C. Barker University of Texas	Herbert E. Bolton University of California	Max Farrand Yale University
Joseph Schafer University of Oregon	Frederick J. Teggart University of California	Arley B. Show Stanford University

Payson J. Treat Stanford University	James F. Willard University of Colorado

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST

Roland M. Roche
Judge Frank J. Murasky — Hon. F. Clifton Merritt
Hon. James D. Phelan — Hon. John F. Davis

A cordial invitation is extended to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to attend the sessions of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress.

PROGRAMME

Monday, July 19th

Asiatic Institute Conference

(An outline of the Conference Programme is given on a separate leaflet. Printed on p. 17.)

8:30 P.M., Inside Inn — Willard Straight, New York — Asiatic Interests in the Pacific Ocean.

Tuesday, July 20th

Joint meeting of the American Asiatic Association, the Asiatic Institute, and the American Historical Association.

10:00 A.M., Philippine Islands Building. — The Philippine Islands and Their History as a Part of the History of the Pacific Ocean Area, under Spain and the United States. Chairman, Professor León María Guerrero, Manila.

*James A. Robertson, Manila — Social Structure of, and Ideas of Law among Early Philippine Peoples; and a Recently Discovered Criminal Code of the Prehistoric Epoch.

*K. C. Leebrick, University of California — The Troubles of an English Governor of the Philippines.

*William L. Schurz, University of California — The Chinese in the Philippines.

*Charles H. Cunningham, University of California — The Question of Ecclesiastical Visitation in the Philippines.

*David P. Barrows, University of California — The Governor-General of the Philippines under Spain and the United States.

*The addresses and papers read at the Congress and printed in this volume are marked with an asterisk. Titles for which substitute papers are printed are marked with a dagger.

1:00 P.M., INSIDE INN — Luncheon to the delegate from Japan to the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress.

4:00 P.M., CALIFORNIA BUILDING — Reception to the Delegates and Members of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress.

*8:30 P.M., FAIRMONT HOTEL — Henry Morse Stephens, University of California — The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean.

Wednesday, July 21st

Meeting of the American Historical Association

10:00 A.M., OREGON BUILDING — The Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska in Their Relation with the Pacific Ocean. Chairman, Professor Joseph Schafer.

*Frank A. Golder, State College, Washington — Russia's Relation to the North Pacific Coast.

*F. W. Howay, New Westminster, B. C. — The Fur Trade as a Factor in Northwestern Development.

*Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon — The Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History.

*Clarence B. Bagley, Seattle, Washington — The Waterways of the Pacific Northwest.

1:00 P.M., INSIDE INN — Luncheon to the Delegates from Spain, Peru, and Chile.

2:30 P.M., ARGENTINE BUILDING — Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean. Chairman, Professor William R. Manning.

Señor Don Gonzalo Bulnes, Santiago de Chile — Chile and the Pacific Ocean.

Señor Don Carlos Antonio Romero, Biblioteca National, Lima — Peru and the Pacific Ocean.

*Señor Don E. Larrabure y Unanue, Instituto Histórico, Lima — The Monarchical Plans of General San Martín.

Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, San Francisco — The Northern Limits of Drake's Voyage.

†Herbert E. Bolton, University of California — The Explorations of Father Kino on the Pacific Slope.

*William R. Manning, University of Texas — British Influence in Mexico, and Poinsett's Struggle Against It.

*Herbert I. Priestley, University of California — The Reforms of Joseph Gálvez in New Spain.

*8:30 P.M., FAIRMONT HOTEL — Señor Don Rafael Altamira y Crevea, University of Madrid — Spain and the Pacific Ocean.

Thursday, July 22d

Meetings at the University of California, Berkeley

10:00 A.M., BOALT HALL — Exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and Settlement of California. Chairman, Hon. Horace Davis, San Francisco.

*Horace Davis, San Francisco — The Home League, 1861.

Fr. Zephyrin, O. F. M., Santa Barbara — The Franciscans in California.

*Charles E. Chapman, University of California — The Founding of San Francisco.

George Parker Winship, Harvard University — Early Navigators of the North Pacific Ocean and the Map-makers.

Frederick J. Teggart, University of California — 1789 in the North Pacific.

12:30 P.M., FACULTY CLUB GLADE — Luncheon to the Delegates and Members of the Congress.

2:00 P.M., BOALT HALL — Meeting of the California History Teachers' Association. Topic for Consideration — Is it in the Interest of History in Schools that a Fuller Definition of the History Requirement be Made by the American Historical Association, Showing the Especial Points to Be Emphasized and Those to Be More Lightly Treated? Chairman, Professor Max Farrand, Yale University.

George L. Burr, Cornell University — The Eastern View.

Presentation of Papers by Miss Crystal Harford, Lodi High School; Edward J. Berringer, Sacramento High School; John R. Sutton, Oakland High School.

Reading of Responses from California Teachers, by Professor Henry L. Cannon, Leland Stanford University.

Discussion — Led by William J. Cooper, Berkeley High School, to be followed by volunteers from the floor. Conclusion of the discussion by the Chairman. (Papers are limited to twenty minutes for each speaker.)

2:00 P.M., BOALT HALL — Meeting of the New Mexico Historical Society. Chairman, Aurelio M. Espinosa, Stanford University.

Hon. Bradford L. Prince — The New Mexico Historical Society.

†Herbert E. Bolton, University of California — New Light on the Explorations of Juan de Oñate.

*Aurelio M. Espinosa, Stanford University — Speech Mixture in New Mexico.

*Thomas Maitland Marshall, Stanford University — New Light on the American Fur Trade in the Southwest.

†Charles W. Hackett, University of California — The Sources of the History of the Pueblo Revolt.

*Mrs. Beatrice Quijada Cornish, University of California — The Ancestry and Early Life of Juan de Oñate.

4:00 P.M., PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE — Reception to Delegates and Members of the Congress by President Benjamin Ide Wheeler and Mrs. Wheeler.

*8:00 P.M., NATIVE SONS HALL, SAN FRANCISCO — Hon. John F. Davis, President of the N. S. G. W. — The History of California.

9:30 P.M., NATIVE SONS' HALL — Reception to the Delegates and Members of the Congress by the Native Sons of the Golden West.

Friday, July 23d

Meeting at Stanford University, Palo Alto

10:30 A.M., 214 History Building — Japan and Australasia. Chairman, Chancellor David Starr Jordan.

*Dr. Naojiro Murakami, President of the Tokyo Foreign Language School — Early Japanese Attempts to Establish Commercial Relations with Mexico, 1599–1617.

*Professor K. Asakawa, Yale University — Japan's Early Experience with Buddhism.

*Professor J. Macmillan Brown, Christchurch, New Zealand — New Zealand and the Pacific Ocean.

12:30 P.M., FACULTY CLUB — Luncheon to the Delegates and Members of the Congress.

1:30 P.M. — Tour of the buildings and grounds of Leland Stanford University.

*8:00 P.M., NATIVE SONS' HALL — Rudolph J. Taussig, Secretary of the P. P. I. E. — The American Interoceanic Canal; an Historical Sketch of the Canal Idea.

Saturday, July 24th

PLEASANTON — Reception and garden party to Delegates and Members of the Congress by Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst at Hacienda del Pozo de Verona, Pleasanton.

ASIATIC INSTITUTE CONFERENCE

PROGRAM

JULY 19

Morning: 9:30 to 12:30 o'clock at Festival Hall

This session is held as a Memorial to Henry Willard Denison

The Pacific as the Theatre of Two Civilizations

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
Ex-Secretary of State

SIDNEY L. GULICK
Secretary Federal Council of Churches

JOHN BARRETT
Director-General Pan-American Bureau

Afternoon: 2:30 to 5:30 o'clock at Inside Inn

This session is held as a Memorial to William Woodville Rockhill

The Pacific as the Theatre of "the World's Great Hereafter"

DAVID STARR JORDAN
Chancellor Stanford University

JAMES B. BULLITT
United States Navy League

FREDERICK McCORMICK
Asiatic Institute

Evening: 7:30 — Subscription Dinner Session Inside Inn
Impromptu Program

Represented in the discussions by messages or papers:

William Howard Taft	Viscount Chinda
Charles W. Eliot	Henry White
Horace N. Allen	Thos. J. O'Brien
Mabel T. Boardman	Austin Cunningham

AND OTHERS

At the last moment, some changes were inevitably made. Mr. Willard Straight of New York, President of the American Asiatic Association, was prevented from coming to San Francisco at the last moment, and the proceedings upon July 19 were conducted by Mr. Frederick McCormick as an Asiatic Institute Conference. At this Conference, speeches were made by Mr. W. J. Bryan and others at Festival Hall and at the Inside Inn on the Exposition Grounds, but no papers, in the technical sense of the word, upon the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean history were read. No delegates appeared from South America; Mrs. Nuttall's paper was transferred from the Wednesday afternoon to the Thursday morning session; and in the absence of Dr. George Parker Winship, Professor William Dallam Armes, of the University of California, read a paper on "The Republic of California" at the same session. At the meeting of the New Mexico Historical Society Professor Altamira y Crevea of the University of Madrid and Father Zephyrin Engelhardt gave interesting impromptu addresses, and honorary memberships in the society were conferred upon Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Mr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California.

The addresses and papers published in this volume show the scope of the proceedings of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress. One or two of the papers herein printed were read by title only at the sessions of the Congress, and one or two of the papers actually read are, for various reasons, not printed in this volume. It has been thought best to print in a separate pamphlet an account of the session of the California History Teachers' Association,[1] and not to include the report of this meeting in a volume specially devoted to strictly historical papers. It should be noted also, that the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt's remarks were spoken in

[1] Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained upon application to Professor W. A. Morris, University of California, Berkeley, California.

the form of a comment upon Mr. R. J. Taussig's paper and were not read. These remarks, which concluded the final session of the Historical Congress, are printed from a shorthand writer's report, as an important contribution to the history of the Panama Canal.

Something should be said as to the social side of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress. One hundred and thirty-nine members of the American Historical Association registered as attending the meetings; many of them came from the Eastern States and the Middle West, but the great majority were members of the Pacific Coast Branch. The people of San Francisco gave a generous welcome to the visitors. On July 20, a reception was given to the delegates from Spain and Japan and to the members of the Congress at the California Building on the Exposition Grounds by the ladies whose names appear as members of the Reception Committee. Upon the same day, a luncheon was given to the delegate from Japan at the Inside Inn. In the evening, the women members of the Congress dined together at the California Building, in accordance with the precedent started at the Chicago meeting of the Historical Association, under the direction of Miss Mary Floyd Williams, Secretary to the Reception Committee. On Wednesday a luncheon was given at the Inside Inn in honor of the delegates, who did not appear, from Peru and Chile, and in the evening a dinner was given to the delegate from Spain at the Fairmont Hotel. On Thursday, July 22, the meetings were held at the University of California, Berkeley, when a luncheon was given to the delegates and the members of the Congress in the Faculty Club Glade, and a reception in the afternoon by President and Mrs. Wheeler at their residence. In the evening, the address of the Honorable John F. Davis, President of the Native Sons of the Golden West, at the Native Sons' Hall in San Francisco, was followed by an informal reception. On Friday, July 23, the Faculty Club gave a luncheon to the delegates and members at Stanford University, which was followed by a delightful reception to the visitors given by Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Crocker at their home at New Place, Burlingame. On Saturday, July 24, after the formal proceedings had been brought to a close on the previous evening, the delegates and members were conveyed on a special train to the beautiful home of Mrs. Phœbe Apperson Hearst at the Hacienda del Pozo

de Verona, Pleasanton. The sincere thanks of the General Committee and of the Programme Committee are hereby given to those generous hosts and hostesses who did so much to make the social features of the Congress successful, and particularly to the members of the Reception Committee, to President and Mrs. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, to Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Crocker, and to Mrs. Phœbe Apperson Hearst.

An interesting episode of the last day of the meeting was the circulation among the members of the Historical Congress of a pamphlet by Professor John L. Myres, Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, entitled: *The Provision for Historical Studies at Oxford, Surveyed in a Letter to the President of the American Historical Association on the Occasion of its Meeting in California, 1915.*

Finally, the thanks of the editors of this volume are due to the readers of the various papers herein published, with the statement of their conviction that one of the permanent results of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition is to be found in this volume that records the proceedings of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress.

H. M. S.
H. E. B.

NOTE. An account of the Congress, with a discriminating summary of the papers read, by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, will be found in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1915, Vol. xxi, pp. 1–11.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE GENERAL SESSIONS

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean

H. Morse Stephens

The completion of the Panama-Pacific Canal opens the fourth chapter in the history of the Pacific Ocean. Since the Asiatic and American peoples seem to have had no regular intercourse across the Ocean, even if occasional fishermen may have been blown from shore to shore by the winds, the first chapter opened with the coming of Europeans almost simultaneously to gaze upon the Pacific Ocean from both east and west, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. For about two hundred years the Ocean remained a Spanish lake, disturbed only by the intervention of adventurers, explorers, and pirates of other nations. Then came the second chapter, the chapter of conflict between the nations of Europe, which closed when the Spanish-American countries, the United States of America, and the Dominion of Canada occupied the American coast-line of the Ocean. The third chapter covers the greater part of the nineteenth century, during which Europe made spasmodic efforts among the islands and in China to secure a foothold, and the power of New Japan arose. This epoch now ends. The completion of the Panama Canal has brought Europe into closer touch with the Pacific Ocean; the old isolation of the American coast of the Pacific has come to an end; and new problems have arisen for merchants and politicians alike.

The Panama-Pacific Historical Congress owes its being to the recognition that an historical period closes with the completion of the Canal, and had it not been for the state of affairs in Europe many distinguished European historians would have been present to signify in papers and discussions their views as to the earliest history of the Pacific Ocean. But, despite discouragement, it has been resolved to hold the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress as it has been resolved to hold the Panama-Pacific Exposi-

tion. It is true that only two governments, one European and the other Asiatic, have sent special delegates to the Congress, but these are the governments of the two nations vitally interested in the history of the Pacific Ocean. Spain, which so long dominated the Pacific, has sent as its delegate Professor Rafael Altamira y Crevea, and Japan, whose entrance into Pacific Ocean politics is the significant fact of its history in the nineteenth century, has sent Professor Murakami. We welcome both of them. The brief address that follows is an attempt to deal with the second chapter in the history of the Pacific Ocean, and its intent is to show that the period of the eighteenth century in the Pacific can only be understood in relation to the history of Europe.

The history of the Pacific Ocean is a chapter in the history of civilization. The earliest civilizations that faced the Pacific Ocean faced it from the East. This is not the place to deal with the various reasons which prevented the civilizations of Asia, the ancient civilizations of China, Japan, Siam, and Malaya from attempting to cross the Pacific Ocean from East to West. That there may have been contact between the Chinese and other Asiatic peoples with America is one of the problems of archæology and ethnology. But it is perfectly certain that there could not have been any regular communication, although there may have been contact, between the Asiatic civilizations of the Eastern coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Indian tribes of the American Continent. The problem of the civilization of the islands of Polynesia and Melanesia and of the islands of the South Sea, together with the more specific problem of Malay influences and of the development of population in Australia and New Zealand, are likewise problems which the archæologist and the ethnologist may eventually solve. The legends of the Maoris of New Zealand and of many Polynesian peoples indicate familiarity with the geography of the Pacific Ocean and bear traces of an early knowledge of the American Continent. The famous stone images of Easter Island indicate a vanished civilization in the heart of the South Pacific Ocean, but even the most learned of archæologists have not yet penetrated the secret of the earliest civilizations of the Pacific Ocean. It has been suggested that the solution of the problem of the absence of communication between the advanced civiliza-

tion of Asia and the American Continent is to be found in a study of the currents that prevail in the Pacific Ocean. We know that the Chinese and Malays were daring sailors in their own difficult waters, but they never attempted any systematic communication with the American Continent from East to West.

The beginning of knowledge of the geography of the Pacific Ocean and of regular communication between its Asiatic and its American populations was reserved for a time when European peoples first faced each other across the unknown width of the Pacific Ocean. It was reserved for European peoples to traverse those wastes of water and to establish regular communications. It is a significant fact that the two great peoples who opened the era of European exploration into the unknown regions of further Asia and America, visited the Pacific Ocean at about the same time in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The romantic age of exploration covers the end of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries. During the fifteenth century, the Portuguese under the inspiration of Prince Henry the Navigator learned the fine art of navigation in slowly working southward along the Western coast of Africa, and, having turned the Cape of Good Hope, opened direct communication by sea with India and the Further East. The epoch-making voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1498 brought the Portuguese mariners directly from Lisbon to India, and eleven years later, in 1509, a squadron of Portuguese ships entered the port of Malacca, and thus approached the Pacific Ocean from the East. In 1511, Affonso de Alboquerque took possession of the city of Malacca and during the next six years the Portuguese not only explored the Spice Islands and the coasts of Siam and of China, but came into contact with the problem of the Pacific. At identically the same time, the Spanish explorers of the American Continent faced the Pacific Ocean from the West. In 1513, Balboa looked upon the Pacific Ocean at the very time when a young Portuguese gentleman named Magellan was serving under the Portuguese flag in the Spice Islands. The early Spanish *conquistadores* speedily explored the American coast of the Pacific Ocean both North and South, but it was reserved for Magellan to cross the ocean from America to Asia. Since the ideas of Magellan were not welcome

to the Portuguese, it was under the flag of Spain that he undertook his adventurous voyage in 1519. In 1520 he passed through the straits from the Atlantic to the Pacific which now bear his name, and in 1521 he successfully accomplished the purpose of his voyage. The example of Magellan was followed by other Spanish navigators, but the most important event in the history of the Pacific Ocean, which was to determine the character of its control and trade for two hundred years, was the occupation of the Philippine Islands by an expedition from Mexico under Legazpi in 1565. Between 1565 and 1572 Legazpi definitely won the Philippine Islands for the Spanish crown, and from that time onwards these islands remained under the control of Spain and their trade was regulated by the annual Manila galleons which crossed the Pacific Ocean by an old and well-defined route, sailing north into the latitude of northern California, which avoided contact with numerous islands of the South Pacific. The politics of Europe now interfered for the first time, as they were to interfere so often afterwards, in the question of the dominance of the trade of the Pacific Ocean.

It is quite impossible to understand the history of the Pacific Ocean without bearing in mind at every stage the history of the States of Europe, for it was conditions in Europe which definitely decided the control of the Pacific Ocean. In 1580 Portuguese independence disappeared and Portugal and its possessions in Africa, Asia, and America passed under the sway of Philip II of Spain. This eliminated for sixty years a possible rivalry between the Portuguese from Asia and the Spaniards from America for the control of the Pacific Ocean. The possession of the Philippine Islands assured the control of communication by the north route to Spain; and, the Portuguese being exhausted by their great efforts as explorers, adventurers, and traders, it looked as if the amalgamation of Spain and Portugal into one monarchy had definitely assured united control of the Pacific Ocean to the mighty power of the Spanish Hapsburgs. But new and unexpected complications arose. Resistance to the Spanish power developed among the English and the Dutch. In the long fight that the sailors of Queen Elizabeth carried on against Spain, one striking episode was the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, who entered the

Pacific Ocean in 1578 by way of the Straits of Magellan and who took possession of California in the name of his queen as "New Albion" in 1579. After this daring raid into the "Spanish Lake," as the Pacific Ocean actually was, Drake crossed the ocean from West to East and safely returned to England. His example was followed by Cavendish and other adventurous sailors, but the attention of English merchants, like the attention of Dutch merchants, was drawn rather to the successful trade in Asia than to a definite conflict with Spain upon the American coast of the Pacific Ocean. During the first half of the seventeenth century the English bent their endeavors to establish trade with those Asiatic lands that had been explored for more than a century by the Portuguese. Their chief rivals were the Dutch merchants, and, after the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623, a rough delimitation was made which left the English to found their trade and power in India, while the Dutch took the control of the Further East. It was from the Dutch Asiatic capital at Batavia in Java that the exploration of the Southern Pacific Ocean was directed. The great field, that the Spaniards had neglected from the choice of the northern route between Manila and Mexico, was now occupied by the Dutch. It was Dutch sailors who left their names in the Southern Pacific. It is true that the great continent named by them "New Holland" is now called Australia, but the name New Zealand shows its Dutch origin and the Island of Tasmania is called after the greatest of Dutch explorers, Abel Tasman. But the Dutch were not satisfied with exploring the Southern Pacific. They likewise broke their way into the Pacific Ocean through the Straits of Magellan, and it was from a little Dutch sailing port that Cape Horn took its name. Side by side with the competitive trade of the English and the Dutch in Asia and the Further East came battering blows of English and Dutch adventurers against the Spanish monopoly of America. The buccaneers of the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea, who preyed upon the Spanish connection across the Atlantic from Spanish-America to Europe, were matched by the Dutch Pichilingues, a band of pirates, who, with their headquarters in Lower California, attacked the communications between Mexico and the Philippine Islands across the Pacific with as much ardor as the buccaneers

attacked Spanish fleets and settlements upon the Atlantic Coast. To understand the meaning of the success of these attempts, it is necessary to bear in mind the decay of the Spanish power in Europe during the seventeenth century. The Spain of Philip III and Philip IV could not sustain the efforts of its governors and viceroys to beat off the attacks of the English and Dutch pirates and adventurers, or maintain the monopoly of trade against the trading skill of the Dutch and English merchants. A glance at the state of Europe in the seventeenth century shows the grasp by the Dutch and English of the meaning of "sea power," and, although no great Dutch or English fleets entered the Pacific Ocean, the principle of the control of the seas was first grasped by these maritime nations. Germany, divided into many States and ravaged by the Thirty Years' War, took no part in the competition for the world's trade, and it was left to Dutchmen and Englishmen, mainly, to batter down the portals of Spanish monopoly in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The occupation of the Island of Jamaica in 1655 by Oliver Cromwell marked the commencement of English colonization by conquest; while the Dutch East India Empire extended from Batavia over the Spice Islands, and was based upon the united support given by the Dutch people to their East India Company.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the dominating figure in European politics was Louis XIV of France, and it is only by understanding the relations between France and Spain that it is possible to realize how France became the first successful competitor of Spain upon the Pacific Ocean. The latter part of the seventeenth century is the great age of French expansion as well as of French literature. Not only did daring Frenchmen explore the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi, but their activities extended also to the Pacific Ocean. The designs of Louis XIV upon Spain, which were intended to bring about an absolute union under the Bourbons of the French and Spanish monarchies, were marked by periods of war and periods of peace. It was after the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 that Louis XIV began to encourage the movement of French sailors into the Pacific Ocean. This little-known episode of the history of the Pacific Ocean has been worked out by a noted Swedish scholar, Dahlgren. He, first of

scholars, looked over the documents dealing with the French in the Pacific Ocean and showed how, during the alliance, French merchants made their way up the Pacific Coast from the Straits of Magellan and broke into the Spanish monopoly of trade there. In 1706 the King of France gave authority under a charter to a Frenchman named Danycan to establish a settlement on the "Island of California" as headquarters of the French trade in the Pacific Ocean. But again European diplomacy interfered. By the Treaties of Utrecht, the crowns of France and Spain were recognized as Bourbon crowns, but the separation of the two states was maintained. France, as the ally of Spain, could not continue its incursions into the "Spanish Lake," which was the Pacific Ocean; therefore, the activities of French sailors and merchants there came to an end, and the Spanish Bourbon government, like the previous Spanish Hapsburg government, fell back into a quiet consciousness that there was no need to defend its Pacific Ocean monopoly. The Manila galleons peacefully crossed the Pacific year by year, and Spain, backed by France, felt no need to prepare for defence.

But the Treaties of Utrecht had given the English merchants certain rights of trade with Spanish-America, and the ambitions of English merchants had been aroused by the tales which had come through France of the wealth of the Pacific. Then was founded the famous South Sea Company, whose financial troubles form an interesting episode in English financial history; but the South Sea Company was rather a scheme of financiers than a union of traders, and while the London East India Company was slowly building up the power which eventually founded the Indian Empire, the London South Sea Company was mainly interested in looking after the prices of stock upon the stock exchange.

The quarter century of peace which followed the Treaties of Utrecht was broken in 1740 by the war known as the War of the Austrian Succession. One of the most famous episodes of this war was Anson's incursion into the Pacific Ocean and his capture of one of the Manila galleons. This proved to the English government the weakness of Spain in the Pacific and prepared the way for further schemes of aggression into the "Spanish

Lake." During the years of war that followed, English statesmen and merchants cast their eyes longingly upon the Pacific Ocean, and their activities culminated in the capture of Manila by General Draper in 1762. The East India Company backed this expedition and hoped to retain, if not Manila itself, at least a footing in the Philippine Islands as a base for trade in the Further East and in the Pacific Ocean. Nearly one hundred years earlier, the East India Company under the administration of Sir Josiah Child, had made a settlement at Amoy in China in 1677 with the same hope, but like Amoy a century earlier, Manila was abandoned by the English, who found enough to occupy themselves at this time in the growth of their power in India to prevent further efforts in the Further East. The Dutch had fallen from their high estate as a great maritime power and were now satisfied with the profits of their trade with Java, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands. But, although the English and the Dutch had been temporarily eliminated in 1763, a new giant power was moving towards the Pacific Ocean. Peter the Great of Russia had divided the civilized world into Europe, Asia, and Russia, and upon his world map was marked the hope of the control of all Siberia. During his reign, the Russians reached the Northern Pacific, and it was under his directions that Vitus Bering began the famous discoveries which completed the knowledge of the extreme Northern Pacific before Bering's death in 1741. During the next twenty-five years, the Russians steadily moved down the coast of Alaska and threatened to make their way as far as the Spanish settlements upon the Pacific Coast.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Charles III, the enlightened king of Spain, resolved to make a great effort to maintain the Spanish monopoly in the Pacific Ocean. On the one hand Don Gaspar de Portolá was sent north along the coast in 1769 to occupy and take possession of the coast of California towards which the Russians were advancing; while on the other hand the viceroy of Peru sent out a special expedition in 1770 to take possession of such islands in the South Pacific as might threaten the Spanish monopoly of the western coast of South America. The policy of Charles III showed that the Spaniards were alive to the dangers pressing upon them from all directions.

The capture of Manila by the English, and the advance of the Russians, made a definite policy necessary, and the last age of Spanish exploration is made illustrious by the various voyages up the North Pacific Coast from San Blas to Alaska and by the voyage of Don Felipe González to Easter Island. But it was too late. The monopoly of the Pacific could not longer be maintained. This is not the place to enter upon the history of the Nootka Sound affair, except to point out that the trade influence which led up to it was the first definite attempt of the English merchants to get a share of the trade across the Pacific Ocean. Even more significant was the result of the three famous voyages of Captain Cook, which, after tracing the boundaries of New Holland and New Zealand, culminated in 1788 with the establishment of a penal colony at Botany Bay under Governor Phillip, and thus led to the definite establishment of English influence in the Southern Pacific through the occupation of Australia.

The wars of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic period withdrew European interest from the Pacific Ocean, and for a time ended the conflict of European nations in that ocean. When the curtain rose again after the overthrow of the Napoleonic Empire in 1814, a new series of contestants for the control of the Pacific Ocean appeared. In the place of Spain, there developed the Spanish-American Republics of Mexico, Peru, and Chile, not to speak of the minor republics of Central America. To the North had arisen the Republic of the United States of America, whose skippers soon penetrated the harbors of the Northern Pacific and the Islands of Polynesia on both whaling and missionary enterprises. The English definitely established themselves in the Malay Peninsula, where Stamford Raffles founded the city of Singapore; and the rapid colonization of Australia and New Zealand established a definite English sphere of influence in the South Pacific. It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with the details of the conflict in the Pacific Ocean during the nineteenth century. It has been rather its purpose to point out the various stages of that conflict up to the nineteenth century. So far as the American coast of the Pacific Ocean was concerned, the greatest events were the definite establishment of the United

States in California by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848; the definite establishment of England in British Columbia, which was recognized by the Treaty of 1846; while Russia eliminated herself by the sale of Alaska in 1867. In the place of the old powers of Spain and Portugal, the Protestant Netherlands and France, Russia and Great Britain, whose headquarters were in Europe and whose interests were mainly European, there definitely appeared by the middle of the nineteenth century a series of specifically American powers, with purely American interests, upon the American side of the Pacific Ocean, in the existence of such States as Chile and Peru, Mexico, the United States and Canada. On the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean, the appearance of Japan as a great power and the regeneration of China, half a century later, meant that the question of the dominion of the Pacific Ocean was not to be settled simply by the American States, but by American and Asiatic States. In the Southern Pacific, a new power had arisen in the English colonies of Australia and New Zealand; and the Polynesian Islands formed the theatre of a conflict in which France and Germany took part. The most significant affair of all was, however, the occupation of the Philippine Islands by the United States of America in 1898. By this, the old tradition that the Philippine Islands, though geographically part of Asia, were politically part of America, was maintained; and the problem was set to the United States, which had formerly been faced by Spain, of maintaining a connection across the Pacific Ocean from East to West and West to East.

The purpose of this address has been fulfilled if attention has been drawn by it to the importance of studying European history for the understanding of one period of the Pacific Ocean. The conflict of European powers for the control of the Pacific came to an end with the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century has witnessed rather the conflict of American and Asiatic powers, with but slight intrusion of strictly European ideas in the occupation of Tahiti by the French, of the Fiji Islands by the English, and of part of Samoa, part of New Guinea, Tsing Tau, and the Solomon Islands by Germany. The Canadian Dominion and the Australian Commonwealth may be regarded in their interests in the Pacific as independent States, rather than as subject col-

onies; and the problem of the Pacific in the twentieth century may be that of conflict between American and Asiatic powers, with only American and Asiatic interests, since the direct influence of European States has for the moment entirely disappeared. What will be the result of the opening of the Panama-Pacific Canal? Will Europe again intervene politically or commercially? Will the fourth chapter in the history of the Pacific Ocean resemble the second or the third? One thing at least is certain — that an epoch in the history of the Pacific Ocean is closed.

THE SHARE OF SPAIN IN THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN[1]

RAFAEL ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA

I REGARD it as useless to emphasize the importance which I attach to this opportunity, offered by the meeting of the Historical Congress, to recall in the presence of an audience so familiar with the subject and so kindly disposed, the general outlines of a considerable portion of Spanish colonial history.

In any case, reference to the useful work done in the past by the nation to which one belongs amounts to authorization of our right to exist and to continue our existence as associates in a common humanity struggling for the attainment of conditions more and more civilized and prosperous. But the present occasion, because of the many circumstances of which I shall speak later, even if you know them well, increases notably the value of calling up the past.

Such a finality of judgment as I may deliberately wish to give you is not incompatible with the scientific character of the Congress. No one can deny the Spaniards the right to concern themselves with their own history in a scientific sense and for patriotic ends as well as in the human one of mere investigation of the truth for truth's sake. Nor in this case is there any contradiction between the two lines of thought, since in last analysis what we desire is that the world shall know the entire truth about our history, and not a part of it exaggerated by unfavorable prejudices. When the final balance has been struck we are confident that it will be rather more advantageous for us than otherwise, as reasonably

[1] The English translation of this paper has been made partly by my old friend Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University, New York, partly by Mr. Herbert I. Priestley, University of California. I give to both of them my best thanks for their useful and accurate aid. The original Spanish version of the paper follows, pp. 55–75.

might be supposed *a priori* of any people, in view of the very fact that it is made up of men who carry in their hearts along with the evil the good also of the species to which they belong.

Furthermore, the point of view to which I refer arises naturally out of the topic itself, chosen at the particular request of our president, since in a sketch necessarily brief one finds it impossible to dwell on the details of recent investigation at once monographic and specialized. My present duty is simply to indicate the main lines of a complex development extending through several centuries, to offer a kind of summary that for many of you will be little more than a reminder of things already known, and for others an orderly condensation of loose facts to which I shall add the personal element of a historian's opinion.

It is not true, indeed, in this field, nor in the remainder of our national history, that there are no new discoveries or researches to be made; on the contrary, you all know that much remains to be done in this line. Even in the matter of inventories of materials available, a work which is well advanced (and you American historians have labored in this field with great assiduity and felicitous results), these inventories themselves still remain to be profitably utilized, since to know merely that a document exists is not the same as to know, utilize, and disseminate its contents. But the fact is that even in the matter of knowledge of the materials themselves, every day the investigation of the archives reveals to us something new, as I had occasion not long since to prove, concerning the legislative history of our colonization. In places other than the Archivo de Indias there exist numerous documents not yet used, and part of these refer especially to California. But I repeat that this topic cannot be pursued here, lest I digress from the general character of the exposition which it is my duty to make now in your presence.

Of course the term "Pacific Ocean," as it appears in the title of my address, must not be interpreted strictly as an allusion to the history of the Spanish sea expeditions to this part of the world. In the true geographical sense the Pacific includes all lands of the continents bordering upon it and receiving from it some of its conditions of life. Both elements are inseparable. To speak of the work of Spain in the Pacific does not mean, in my judgment,

to speak of Oceania alone, but of America as well, of many an American area on which we planted our foot, and among them of this one where we now are.

This point agreed, it may be observed that the history of Spain in the Pacific contains not only everything substantial in our work of colonization, but in quantity and even quality the greater part of it. One may say that here in this portion of the Pacific is the spot where the Spanish people, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and also in California in the eighteenth, applied the maximum of their energies and afforded the greatest proofs of their service in the civilization of the world. It is curious that it should have been so, but it was not merely a casual or arbitrary occurrence. For some reason the action of the Spaniards on the American continents took place above all on the shores of this ocean, that is to say on the coast remote from Europe and not in the Atlantic just opposite to them. Consideration of the reasons connected with this fact, those at least visible to us, is a primary point worthy of the attention of the true historian who does not detain himself over minute details of erudition.

That this is true was due at first to the initial enterprise that resulted in the discovery of America — the westward passage to the Indies. The barrier of new lands encountered on the way, with all its attractiveness in wealth, actual and dreamed about, and in the zest, so human then and now, for domination, could not check the ultimate desire. One must go onward toward the West, fulfil the thought of Columbus, arrive at the real Indies. Thence came the efforts to find a passage through, by the northwest, by the centre, by the south, the enterprise of Balboa, the projects for a canal, the multiple voyages of Spanish sailors across the seas from the time of Magellan and Elcano onward.

The direction taken by Columbus in his first journey also brought the Spaniards to the Pacific. Had the course been shifted somewhat to the northward, they, rather than the English, would perhaps have colonized Virginia and New England at a considerable distance from the Pacific. Had it inclined more to the southward, the great continental point of the Guianas and Brazil, to the Spaniards would have been entrusted a task of another sort.

But Columbus in fact came to the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico and hence directly to the point most easily penetrable to the Pacific and fitted to become the centre of Spanish colonization and activity.

A third fact planted us here, also, away from the Atlantic areas in question, the fact, namely, of discovering in regions bathed by the Pacific on one side, like Mexico, and in others adjacent to it, advanced types of aboriginal civilization that abounded in their appeal of wealth and glorious dominion.

The westward trend of Spanish endeavor, then, apart entirely from the actual maritime enterprises on the Pacific, was also determined by the enterprises, on the Atlantic side, of extraneous activities which gave to France and England almost all to the northward and to Portugal almost all to the southward, and to the two nations first mentioned a great part, also, of the Antilles, which, even if it were made up only of the smallest islands, possessed the greatest importance both numerically and commercially. In regard to the south it is well known that the actual colonization by Spain of the regions about the River Plate (not the voyages of discovery, which are another matter) belonged to a period much later and was far from reaching the intensity and proportions of that in Mexico, Perú, Chile, etc.

But, since there came to be added to the field of history in the eighteenth century as a matter of doctrine, the question of what each people had contributed to the common labor of civilization (not to say that this question had not arisen prior to the eighteenth century), that which is of most import to general opinion, which demands of history definite conclusions or at least materials upon which to base conclusions, is to know what each nation has done in every sphere of its activity upon which either favorable or unfavorable opinion may be based concerning its contribution to civilization.

It would be necessary to extend this paper beyond bounds if I should attempt now to discuss this historical problem in relation to the entire work of Spain in America and the islands of the seas. In my other works I have spoken of this matter, or shall soon do so, hence I may be permitted to refer to them in outline, omitting details (which are often of great importance),

a limitation imposed by the circumstance already alluded to of the incompleteness of the publications yet issued in regard to our history. The general outline I do believe has been clearly traced, especially if it be borne in mind that our written history has until now consisted in great part rather in the application to the facts of preconceived judgments and moral considerations, not always logical, than in quiet contemplation and balanced judgment of all the facts in their ensemble, with their proper relationships and counterpoise just as reality presents them.

I omit, then, consideration of the motives of our colonial movement, especially the characterization of it as a selfish, covetous appetite for lucre, as if only the Spaniards had undertaken colonization for gain and the other nations for philanthropy, and as if our actual civilization, so firmly established upon the bases of economic well-being and the development of material interests, — to which so many things are often sacrificed, — could convert into a defect or even into a crime the pursuit of riches, especially when this motive was accompanied by others, of which the history of Spain offers many shining examples. Be whatever it may the opinion in this regard, it is fitting not to forget one thing often remarked upon, but which the exigencies of the argument demand should be recalled again, and that is that the economic incentive (either among mere fortune-hunters or among real merchants) carries man to other planes of life. A Spanish *savant*, Professor Aramburu, said upon a memorable occasion, referring to the Inquisition, in a phrase the rhetorical brilliancy of which does not conceal a fund of keen historical perspicacity, that it is not within the power of man to prevent bonfires from giving light; that is to say that fire, though it burns, illuminates the means by which it will one day come to be extinguished. So also it may be said, that although he may not realize it, the gold-hunter or the merchant cannot prevent the circumstance that with the merchandise with which he ministers to indispensable necessities, should also be disseminated the ideas and the civilization of the people to whom he belongs — things well outside his sphere, and often conveying great moral elevation.

So then, although the Spaniards each and all of them who came to America or to the Pacific, or the public powers of that

country and day, had had no other motive than covetousness, they would also have necessarily produced fundamental elements of civilization of other types, and it would be necessary to give credit for them. But it is well known that Spain proposed other things than the mere economic benefit of her discoveries, conquests and colonization. Among them was the extension of her religion, her culture, her spirit; that is, to give all that she had, and that all (much or little, correct in all things or mistaken in part) her very own, which she might contribute to the common work, believing in good faith that it was her best and desiring that all peoples might participate in it and (as it always happens to every one, since none can give more than he has) without the power humanly to give anything else, so by that token without responsibility for not having given more.

Briefly, then, let us see what Spain accomplished in its general activities throughout the continental areas bathed by the Pacific, on this ocean itself and on its islands. As already observed, I must avoid details, feeling assured as I do of knowledge of them possessed by my audience, who for that reason can follow readily the general treatment that I have in mind without seeking an explanation of every fact mentioned.

In the first place, let us consider the fact itself of the expeditions by land and sea which in a short time and in immense quantity added to a knowledge of the planet. That result alone performed a valuable service to civilization and the progress of the world; but in its relation to the work of Spain it possesses a most important significance, because, as has been pointed out very well by Torres Campos in a treatise concerning California itself (and along with him Fernández Duro and others), the extension of Spanish effort in that field shows that the Spanish people here were not merely mine-hunters and warlike conquerors, but geographical explorers to whom are due a long series of discoveries superior in this respect to everything achieved in those centuries by other peoples in this part of the world. The actual frequency of the voyages and the abundance of accounts of them which everyone nowadays may read and does read, have exhausted our admiration for those deeds with which we are familiar. Only when some exceptional act of valor is performed, like that of Scott for example, do we fix our attention

on it, regarding it as something heroic and worthy of making proud the men who achieved it and the people to whom they belonged. But in general we have lost or lowered considerably our ability to appreciate the valor of effort in such undertakings, more difficult and appreciable in proportion as we go back into history and encounter men who accomplished the same feats or even greater ones than those of to-day, with fewer means and hence with a greater expenditure of personal energy. And if to this trait in the spirit of man to-day we add the neglect visited upon the history and remembrance of Spanish travellers, together with the deliberate silence or unconscionable ignorance about them long since common among foreign writers, one can understand how difficult it is now to give a clear idea of Spanish enterprises of the sort in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is evident also that the public at large, creating as it does the collective opinion about history, through what is supplied by specialists or met with in the legends of common knowledge, is unable to-day to form a definite idea of that great work of Spain in its entirety, because of the lack of a picture of it which brings together and condenses all its elements.

At this point it should be stated, furthermore, that the voyages and discoveries undertaken by the Spaniards were not the fruit of chance, or of a disordered action of individuals (even allowing for the very respectable share of individual initiative in human endeavor). Neither were they merely the fortuitous consequences of attempts that had failed in some other direction, as many, with pardonable error, asserted, including authors very favorably disposed toward the colonial history of Spain. Quite to the contrary. On the part of the elements directing Spanish action in the New World and beyond and in the bent of mind visible among the travellers themselves viewed as a body, there was something reflexive, systematic, and orderly that befitted the final realization of an object upheld in spite of the more personal and egoistic purposes of some of the discoverers. This purposeful endeavor, as I have observed, had two main lines of action before it: the one, to carry out the thought of Columbus in its original form of arriving at the East Indies, establishing direct relations between them and Spain and utilizing their products for Spanish

commerce; the other, to know well, in every aspect that might be of interest (not only in the political and in the strictly economic sense) the new lands that had been found, by bringing together and centralizing the information constantly assembled by the explorers.

The first object was not fully realized, because the Portuguese, arriving from the East, had closed the way and prevented Spain, despite lengthy negotiations known to everyone, from securing more than a small portion of the island territory adjacent to Asia. The commercial current setting in from this direction, instead of moving toward Spain, that is, from East to West, by the Portuguese route itself, moved from West to East, that is, from China, Japan, and the Philippines, and thence across the Pacific toward America and eventually Spain, thus creating the first commercial highway in that ocean and by Spanish effort. The day when one knows well the history of that highway, of the mercantile transactions associated with it, of its chief agency the Acapulco galleon (and it is to be hoped that the promised work of Mr. Schurz will make good progress in the matter concerning which there is much yet unpublished to be seen) and of the other elements that go to make them up, we shall see the importance it had, alike in itself and as a precedent for modern development. Then, too, we shall perceive how many Spanish enterprises in Oceania, apparently disconnected and casual, were united from within by the desire to subserve the great commercial object in question, seeking out its main line and assuring it as much as possible. Other enterprises were brought together for objects independent of this and derived, partly from the consequences that every discovery entails by giving rise to new geographical and cosmographical problems, partly also from the general eagerness, very active at that time in the minds of the Spanish pilots, captains, and adventurers, to discover for the sake of the satisfaction of discovery in itself, or for the advantages of conquest and the economic utility. Finally, a third group was one set in action by the necessity of knowing the coasts of the new ocean; first, proceeding from the Isthmus and New Spain to the north and south (with new incentives at times like that which led to the several voyages of Pizarro and his companions); then, also from Perú and Chile

to the south, for the purpose of connecting with the discovery by Magellan, apart from the impulse in various senses afforded by the eagerness to discover the maritime passage between the two oceans.

Two points of capital interest are noticeable in this long history of the discoveries and both were the work of Spaniards: one was the discovery by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the vast importance of which is recognized by the entire world, the epic valor of which was sung by one American writer, Washington Irving, and to the history of which a Spanish author, Altolaguirre, has just contributed a large amount of material;[1] the other was rendered effective by Magellan with Spanish money, ships and men, and led to the first circumnavigation of the globe, with which deed is connected the name of the Spaniard, Elcano. But the day when these three glorious names, that everyone knows, and a few more of like celebrity, are combined in the familiarity of popular consciousness with all those who contributed with their efforts and their successes greater or smaller to the secular work of discovering the huge Pacific and most of its lands to the east and to the west and within the vast sweep of its waters, everyone will recognize then what only a few specialists know now. It is that not merely the exploration of the American coast on the west, with scant exception in the extreme north, was entirely Spanish in its accomplishment, but a large portion of the islands of the Pacific also owe their discovery to Spanish sailors who threw themselves into the work with so much tenacity and vigor, unmindful of perils which, as one author has observed, caused more than eighty per cent of them to perish in those hazardous voyages; and all this without producing in two centuries any stoppage of the current of venture, while at the same time it left behind, in spite of the misfortunes of many an expedition, a glorious record of discoveries and descriptive studies.

I refrain from giving here a list of names, which might seem a vain boast of erudition, useless indeed if merely a list is given, and there is not space for more; but I do wish to say once again that in this matter all the data which have come down to us have

[1] Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvale, *Vasco Núñez de Balboa* (Madrid, 1914).

not been published, nor have those which are known been gathered together, in spite of the valuable labors of Jiménez de la Espada, Zaragoza, Ferreiro, Coello, Duro, Beltrán, and other Spaniards, Collingridge, Morgan, and a few others among foreigners who, with sympathetic attitude toward Spain, have undertaken investigations of this character. When that work, which is now lacking, has been done, will be seen not only how much of our knowledge of the Pacific is due to the efforts of the Spaniards whose now unknown names will stand out in high relief, but also we shall know how full of dramatic episodes and impelling curiosity is the history of Spanish navigation, in which, that nothing should lack, there were even women captains of expeditions; and how in Peru there were women who governed as viceroys during interregnums, showing that our ideas and customs of those times were not repugnant to the spirit of feminism. It will also be seen how erroneous is the affirmation made by some persons that the Spaniards were not natural navigators since all the pilots of their expeditions were foreigners, for it will be demonstrated that many native-born Spaniards played principal rôles in the development of precision in cosmographical studies by writing works which were translated and copied in other countries of Europe by cartographers, and it will be demonstrated that this advancement in cosmography had created a propitious medium for the development of excellent mariners.

With respect to the other purpose already mentioned, that of determining as exactly as possible the knowledge of the newly discovered lands in all aspects, it will suffice to notice, in order that it may be apparent that the effort was made with a clear idea of what was desired and a profound understanding of the difficulty of the enterprise — first, the well-matured plan of the *Relaciones de las Indias* which our Jiménez de la Espada issued so brilliantly in his well-known collection of documents (afterwards continued in various other publications); and, second, the making of the *Padrón de Indias* definitely to correspond with the *Relaciones;* finally, the systematic preparation of purely scientific expeditions, such as the well-known one of Dr. Hernández in the time of Philip II. It is worthy of note that this expedition, and others of those centuries, were not sporadic and

isolated, but were valuable links in a long chain, more or less closely connected according to circumstances, but practically uninterrupted; the final episodes of these voyages were marked, in the eighteenth century, by numerous expeditions of famous Spanish naturalists (not considering that of Jorge Juan and Ulloa). In the nineteenth century, as a conclusion of these, occurred the expedition called the Pacific Expedition, in which was laid the foundation of the fame of Jiménez de la Espada. Among these voyages there should be found a place in which to group also those of Bonpland and Humboldt — for, while it is true that these were performed by men of other nationalities, it is no less true that they were assisted amply in their efforts by the Spanish government.

In view of all this, it is not strange that, shortly after the beginning of the discoveries, there should have been published not only books like the short but interesting one of Enciso, but fuller accounts such as the *Geografía y Descripción de las Indias*, compiled by the cosmographer, Juan López de Velasco, thirty years before the end of the sixteenth century, and in part derived from the labors begun in the Council of the Indies to form the above-mentioned *Relaciones*.[1] In this work there are many accounts of the islands of the deep ocean (*islas de Poniente*), especially the Moluccas, the Philippines, New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Ladrón Islands, and the coasts of China, Japan, and the Lequios (Loochow). In the same manner, and in the light of all that scientific preparation, based on the numberless materials obtained by travellers and missionaries (from the naturalists to those whom we to-day would call sociologists), one may appreciate what rich treasures of all kinds exist in our chroniclers of the Indies; in some, because they utilize that material, and in others because they were prepared by the atmosphere of the epoch to see the reality of the new world with a width of vision and with a complexity of programme to which they never would have been drawn by the learned traditions of the historiography then dominant in the Old World.

When the history of all these facts shall be written in its entirety, and placed before the public in proper form, adequate

[1] First published in 1894, with additions and illustrations, by Don Justo Zaragoza.

proof will be presented that the Spaniards were predecessors of navigators of other nations in voyages repeated later by foreigners, aside from those which are exclusively and undisputedly Spanish.

But I do not desire, nor could I well leave the present topic without referring by way of a slight digression to a matter, the importance of which has been during the current year raised to a high degree of interest. I refer to the Panama Canal. Here, less than in any other part of the world, do I need to extol the value which the opening of the Canal will have in human history; but it is not for the purpose of lauding the enterprise that I here make mention of it, but rather to point out the share which the Spaniards have had in earlier efforts to effect what has been now realized.

Here again is a subject which as yet lacks a definitive study. The book recently produced by the learned Spaniard, Señor Manjarrés,[1] although it adds many notices to those already well-known and oft-repeated, included in the handbooks of history, does not exhaust the accounts which might be adduced. Manjarrés cites in his work twenty-one projects — all Spanish (with one exception — that of M. de Fer de la Nouerre) — from the first project of Hernán Cortés to cut the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, to that of the Deputy to the Cortes of Cádiz, Don José A. López de la Plata. To these there might have been added, among those which are well known, that of Galve (sixteenth century), that of the Consulado de Comercio y Navegación (communication by way of Patagonia) or even that which La Bastide (although that was not a Spanish enterprise, according to the name of the author) presented to Charles IV. Be whatever may the number finally verified, two facts stand out sharply to link the name of Spain perpetually to the great modern work accomplished, just as the name of Balboa is perpetually associated with the discovery of one of the oceans now united. The first is, that Spain contemplated from the very first years the opening of an artificial waterway (since no natural one existed save at the extremes of the continent) between the Pacific and the Atlantic; and that, in the conception of the *idea* of this undertaking, as well as in the

[1] Ramón de Manjarrés, *Proyectos Españoles de Canal Interoceánico* (*Rev. de Arch., Bib., y Mus.*, Enero á Abril, 1914).

formation of *projects* for its realization, in explorations and preparatory labors, to Spain also belongs the precedence. When Champlain in 1600 conceived the *idea* of the canal, years had already elapsed since Spaniards had not only had the identical idea, in view of the need of such a waterway, and with direct knowledge of the lands in which its construction was possible, but had decided various projects for utilizing several practicable routes (Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, Panama). Spain did not in the end construct the canal on account of the coincidence of numerous causes, among which, in the eighteenth century especially, was one of especial weight, — that the new communication might prove a source of international complications. But Spain never ceased during three centuries to think of the project; nor did she ever, as Humboldt himself recognizes, prohibit speaking or writing about the piercing of the isthmus.

All these vast efforts toward understanding and getting benefit from these new lands and seas produced, aside from the discoveries themselves and the numerous problems which the needs of the time suggested, a series of secondary but none the less important consequences, which must also be included in a sketch of Spanish activities in the regions of the Pacific. These were, succinctly stated, knowledge of geography and geology (in so far as these fields of learning, until then without name or scope, could be furthered by the observations of the explorers), of botany, zoölogy, and mineralogy (with all the applied skill which mining demands, in which the Spaniards realized considerable progress by means of metallurgical methods of which some are still in use); of native dialects (in which the studies of our missionaries are of prime importance, as is well known, and of truly extraordinary number); and of the customs, social organization, traditions and history of the Amerinds, which keenly interested the Spaniards, including those religious matters which departed most from Spanish tradition. As a result of all these labors in different fields there remains the most ample and abiding source of materials for modern investigations. If to all this immense labor is added the intentional introduction into America of over 170 species of plants and animals here unknown hitherto, some of which throve and became characteristically American; and if we add the introduc-

tion into Europe of trees and of plants such as the potato, the tomato, Indian corn, the pita, the aguacate, the batata, the Chilian and Virginian strawberries, etc., we shall have a well-rounded picture of the useful and civilizing labors, material as well as spiritual, which the Spaniards effected in their contact with the new lands discovered upon the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

This picture signifies, in fact, the introduction of European civilization into America and many of the islands of the sea. Before that, all that existed in America was prehistoric, in spite of the material and artistic advancement which certain civilizations present without having essentially passed beyond the actual boundaries of the primitive. Through Spain, America became incorporated in that Westward Movement which has come to be the autonomastical civilizing mould of the greater part of the world. Thus Spain was the first teacher (in order of time) of citizenship, of the Christian life, and of classic culture elaborated anew upon the fabric of the original European organization of the Middle Ages.

And it is fitting to say that the importance of Spanish activities in America is not only quantitative, but, in many of them, qualitative. The long list of names which might be presented, Oviedo, Acosta, Hernández, Ximénez, Gómez Ortega, Sahagún, Herrera, Lozano, Carmona, Mutis, Ruiz, Pavón, Azara, Sessé, Mociño, Ulloa, Jorge Juan, Pineda, Malaspina, Medina, Saavedra, Barba, Fernández de Velasco, Contreras, Acuña, Ovalle, López Medel, Elhuyar, and many others who might be named, — is vindicated by the judgment which the labor accomplished has merited in modern times, from specialists not to be suspected of Spanish leanings; men like Humboldt, Linnæus, Lyell, Hoefer, Sonneschmidt, and many others. Of a transient, casual activity, product of futile curiosity without scientific direction, it might not be said, as it has of those Spanish activities to which I now refer, that "no nation has made greater sacrifices for the advancement of botany"; that in Oviedo and Acosta are found "the fundamentals of what we to-day call natural science;" that "since the foundation of society, in no other epoch (as in that of our discoveries) had widened so marvellously and suddenly the circle of ideas touching the exterior world and relations of space;" or that the "Spanish

descriptions of American countries are distinguished for their precision" — (the judgment of Lyell), etc.

We may, then, rest assured of having contributed to the labors of human science a treasure which warrants us to ask recognition as distinguished collaborators.

There are certainly, along with these contributions, which are now coming to be recognized by general opinion, other acts of ours in all the colonies, hence in those to which this paper refers, concerning which we have for centuries been hearing terrible censures. First of all, it is fitting to say frankly that although *all* the accusations against Spain should be true, especially with regard to treatment of the natives, these censures would not invalidate the importance of any of the services to civilization just enumerated. In order that judgment upon a man or a country may be just, it is necessary to impute to them *all* that they have done, both good and bad. To pretend that since the latter exists all the former is to be blotted out, is an injustice, and, moreover, an unreality. Each fact in history remains indelible, be what it may; the neglect or the malice of man may obscure it for a time, but in spite of that it shall not disappear from the debit or credit of its author, upon whose responsibility or vainglory it shall forever rest with an intrinsic value which nothing can countervail. All that we have claimed remains, then, as has been stated; let us proceed to examine these other spiritual phases with which we are now dealing.

After much discussion, a great portion of opinion has settled upon this formula of compromise; Spain conceived and wrote the most humane and elevated legislation for inferior peoples which is known to history, but this legislation (as well as that for governmental administration, which also interested the Spaniards) remained a dead letter in spite of the existence and the propaganda of numerous defenders of human rights, not only for the Indians, but also for the negroes, it being granted that the first known abolitionists were Spaniards.

I do not believe that this formula expresses the reality of events as they occurred. Let it be noted that if it is accepted as valid, it is equivalent to acknowledging that, save for a restricted minority of cultivated and generous men who conceived and issued

those laws, from the time of Queen Isabella, and who in the professor's chair, on the printed page, and in the pulpit defended the liberty and dignity of the Indians and negroes — save for these, that the mass of Spaniards were so cruel and undisciplined, or were so thoroughly imbued with the general ideas of contempt for inferiors and desire for their exploitation which prevailed at that time in Europe (and indeed these same ideas were applied by all the other colonizing powers) that they neither complied with these laws, nor omitted a single opportunity to sacrifice to their selfishness and ferocity all the peoples with whom they came in contact. We must, no doubt, acknowledge this minority, which was as Spanish as the supposed majority which cherished opposite sentiments and ideas, but I repeat that this does not, in my opinion, convey the whole truth.

Note that I say *the truth*. I do not, by this token, take the purely patriotic point of view, which tries to deny sentimentally that which appears unfavorable to my native land; I assume a scientific point of view, in saying that that formula (which is indeed *a priori* absurd, since it divides essentially the two spheres, that of the ideal and that of practical life, as though they belonged to distinct worlds) does not express the truth as it occurred. Many North American writers accept the position that, with regard to our colonial system, "many of its errors and shortcomings existed because of the incompetence and venality of subordinate officials," and not from poor organization or the intention of the officers of central government, of the viceroys and higher functionaries. This, if true in general terms (allowing for exceptions among those same higher functionaries, not all of whom were impeccable, and it would suffice to mention a few names from Nueva España, Tierra Firme, Perú, etc.) — that is, only to transfer the responsibility, as in the previous case, and the evil intent, to those beneath, who were in the majority, thus confusing in a single sweeping judgment of venality and incompetence, *all* subaltern employees.

Well, then, it is indubitable that this constitutes an error and an injustice. It is not historically accurate to say that in Spanish colonization there were two distinct worlds; one above, endowed with the grandest human ideas and intentions, another below

but much greater, for whom these ideas were a dead letter. The actual fact is that in both classes there were humane, honorable, and just people who knew how to be faithful to the spi it of the laws (which were essentially our own, that is to say, they were the product of our spirit and not of another people's). So were there also those of the opposite character. Side by side with the legislators, with the apostles like Las Casas, with the scientists like Vitoria, there was a legion of people who were in immediate contact with the natives, and hence were obliged to practice their ideas — missionaries, conquerors, *encomenderos*, miners, colonists of diverse types — who did not perpetrate cruelties nor even those abuses and acts of exploitation which even to-day are considered permissible or explainable among the most advanced peoples of the earth, if practiced upon those who are economically or anthropologically inferior. The historical question then is to establish what number of abuses actually existed, and in what proportion with the cases of humanity and faithful application of the laws for natives did they occur. We must also take account — along with the irregularities — of those measures taken by a central government not impeccable no doubt, but conforming to the mode of civilization then everywhere in vogue.

This task, the labor of the historical investigator, which will slowly be finished as we come more and more to know the details and can measure the exactitude of the allegations made up to now, as well as the value of general and inexact statements (so natural in those who preach a doctrine or complain of what seems to them evil in the portrayal of which they need to accentuate in order to command attention) — this task, I say, will give us an exact measure, or an approximate one, of the proportion in which acts were good or bad. But however numerous the latter may have been, they will never be able to invalidate the reality or destroy the merit: first, of our laws of the Indies; second, of the long line of our humanitarian writers or of our jurists of refined legal judgment; or third, of the long roll of our benevolent and charitable men, humane toward the Indians, and faithful to professional duty, whom our history unquestionably presents. It would suffice to mention — and this is only a part of this group — the list of our missionaries, really Christlike in their procedure, in

order that Spain's credit column might show a respectable balance. California herself is not the part of America where with least justice this memory might be invoked.

There would still remain, in this matter, something very important to be done before arriving at a just appreciation of the facts; that would be the application to proved abuses (in peace or war, through motives of conquest or economic relations) the criteria of legal and moral judgment which the majority of mankind of that day and of this apply to non-Spanish acts of the same category. In the question of injuries to one's neighbor, there are but two positions: the philanthropic, which must needs be pacificist, and which has resulted in ill for all the nations of history; and that which we might call the realistic, which recognizes what is inevitable in human relations such as have been until now prevalent, or excuses that which everyone did and still continues doing. If the first of these positions is sincerely adopted, truly many acts of our conquest and colonization will be condemned, but by the same token the same, or even worse acts at times, of the other colonizing powers from the remotest antiquity until now will be equally condemned. To apply to us exclusively this criterion, as do many foreign writers, and some Spaniards as well who are less nationalistic than desirous not to compromise themselves by excusing deeds which their consciences now condemn, is notorious injustice. But we must agree that a humanitarian judgment, for example that of Réclus or Pí y Margall, is not the one professed and is even less the one applied by the majority of men of all nations, and even by governments themselves in most cases. The world in general, then, cannot judge our history save by the criteria which dominate it, and which every people applies to its own and not to alien acts. It is hence necessary to judge those acts of our history alleged reprehensible by the light of dominant practice in order to place us upon an equality with others, and to ascertain in each case the degree of responsibility which must be assumed by government and people in the light of existing practice in the epoch under contemplation. Only thus can we put ourselves on a genuine basis whereupon the philanthropic criterion — which has its merits, though with due historic reservations — raises yet other questions which can only be asked by those who see affairs

in their universal aspects. It will always redound to our credit that the ruling classes of Spain, in the colonization period, rejected and even punished many acts which the general conscience of the period held permissible, and which modern guiding minds sometimes defend or commit under the guise of *salus populi*, or as we say in Spain, "for reasons of state," — which are usually very flexible and elastic.

And yet to that moral and judicial example which Spain during those centuries gave to the world, we may add another spiritual and practical lesson which is not, I believe, one of the least of our labors in all parts to which we carried our activities, chiefly to the New World. The lesson I refer to, there is perhaps no other nation more apt to comprehend in all that it signifies for life than the people of North America. It springs from a common fund of moral qualities, that is, spirit and will, which both Spaniards and North Americans have exhibited at various times when confronting similar needs of life. These qualities are endurance in suffering, serenity in danger, energy in strife, force in struggle, and valor in difficulties which made possible among you the epic of the West and the Far West, and which shone with such remarkable lustre among our discoverers and conquerors. So, that which was done by the builders of this great republic upon the primitive shores of the Atlantic finds its precedent in the work of the Spaniards of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, who, with lesser material equipment, had to contribute more of the personal element, more of physical energy. So our history in America, perhaps distinctively on Pacific shores, will always remain an inexhaustible source of those "professors of energy" from whom modern decadent nations, lacking confidence in their own powers, seek regenerative contacts. Men of such energies we had ourselves in those days, and to-day as well, without noise or ostentation, but with positive efficiency in modern struggles among our emigrants to various countries, — as have ever been found in other lands. Their example may serve not only for us, but for any people whatsoever, either to ratify and amplify these qualities, or to restore them. The having given the example is indeed a credit to Spanish colonization.

This good work had, at times, moments of sublimity, when

energetic quality of soul was joined with kindness of heart and sentiments of justice and fraternity. In such moments it produced effects like the colonization of California, realized, as Torres Campos writes, "by a handful of men who knew how to demonstrate the peculiar aptitude of our people for the work of expansion and assimilation of the natives, which people of superior culture and lofty spirit may bring about by peaceful measures in favor of savages."

Upon this beautiful page of our history in the Pacific, which you have learned to appreciate in such a noble manner, there are names which cannot be pronounced without great respect and deep emotion — those of Junípero Serra and Salvatierra, whose letters to Ugarte are a high example of serenity in the presence of death and of manly persistence in the mission undertaken, until his last moment, which in our days can only be compared with the diary of the celebrated Captain Scott.

Let me be permitted to place under the shield of these great names the completion of this labor. Through their efforts and those of others, the history of the civilization of California is interwoven with that of my native Spain, and both have, for a long period, a common field. This warrants the thought that we may labor as companions, both Californians and Spaniards, in many ways, and perhaps here we may begin the practical realization of a project which I first advocated in 1909 to some Spanish-American republics [1] and which I now find advocated by Professor Stephens. This is the establishment at the Archives of the Indies of schools similar to those which all nations have created for the study of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. The idea has already made some progress in some places in Spain, which are not of least influence, and certain preparation has been made in the official world. I should indeed congratulate myself if the result of my visit to San Francisco might be the realization of that which I consider, equally with Professor Stephens, as a prime necessity of our common investigation, and a bond of intellectual confraternity between our two nations.

And I think that these historical labors in search of the truth

[1] The material features of this proposal may be seen in my book *Mi Viaje á América*. Madrid, 1910.

of the past, will not be the only common work to be done in the future by the United States and Spain, in order to realize the ideals of humanity and civilization which, I am sure, can only be reached through friendly coöperation by all the peculiar qualities of spirit and energy that the history of each people has produced.

LA PARTE DE ESPAÑA EN LA HISTORIA DEL OCÉANO PACIFICO [1]

Rafael Altamira y Crevea

Considero inútil explicar la importancia que concedo á esta ocasión, proporcionada por el Congreso histórico que celebramos, de recordar ante un auditorio tan competente y tan bien dispuesto, las grandes líneas de una parte considerable de la historia colonial española.

En todo momento, la evocación de la obra útil realizada en lo pasado por el pueblo á que pertenecemos, equivale á la legitimación de nuestro derecho á ser y seguir siendo miembros de la humanidad en la lucha por un estado cada vez más civilizado y próspero; pero la ocasión presente, por muchas condiciones de que luego os hablaré, aunque bien las comprendeís por vosotros mismos, aumenta de un modo considerable el valor de esa evocación.

Esta finalidad que deliberadamente quiero comunicarle, no es incompatible con el carácter científico del Congreso. No se puede negar á los españoles el derecho de preocuparse de su historia en un sentido crítico y de orientación patriótica, tanto como en el humano de la pura averiguación de la verdad por la verdad misma, ni hay en este caso contradicción entre ambas cosas, puesto que, al fin, lo que nosotros queremos es que el mundo sepa *toda* la verdad de nuestra historia, no una parte de ella exagerada por prejuicios desfavorables, confiados en que el balance final ha de ser nos más ventajoso que contrario, como en razón y *a priori* puede pensarse de todo pueblo por el solo hecho de estar compuesto de hombres que llevan en su espíritu, con lo malo lo bueno también de la especie á que pertenecen.

[1] The Spanish original of the preceding address.

Por otra parte, ese punto de vista á que me refiero viene por si mismo impuesto en la formulación del tema, hecha á petición especial de nuestro Presidente; ya que en un trabajo de conjunto, y forzosamente breve, es imposible detenerse en las minucias de la investigación nueva, necesariamente monográfica y particularizada. El señalamiento de las grandes líneas de un hecho complejo y que abarca varios siglos, se impone aqui, á modo de resumen que para muchos de vosotros será un simple recuerdo de cosas sabidas y para otros una condensación ordenada de datos sueltos á que el expositor añadirá el aporte personal de sus reflexiones de historiador.

No es ciertamente que en esto — como todavía en lo más de nuestra historia nacional — no quepan novedades y trabajo de rebusca erudita; por el contrario, todos sabeis que aún queda mucho por hacer en este órden. Aún en los particulares respecto de los que el inventario de los materiales disponibles está hecho ó muy adelantado (y vosotros, los historiadores americanos, habeis trabajado en esto con gran asiduidad y resultados felices), queda por hacer el aprovechamiento de aquellos, ya que no es lo mismo saber que existe un documento y conocer, utilizar, y divulgar su contenido. Pero es que aún en el órden del conocimiento de los materiales mismos, todos los días la investigación de archivos nos revela algo nuevo, como no hace mucho he tenido la ocasión de comprobar en punto á la historia legislativa de nuestra colonización, en lugares que no son el Archivo de Indias pero guardan numerosa documentación aún no aprovechada, parte de ella especi lmente referida á California. Pero repito que nada de esto cabe hacer ahora, para no apartarnos del carácter general de la exposición que tengo el deber de hacer ante vosotros.

Por de contado, la apelación de Océano Pacífico aplicada á mi tema, no puede ser interpretada estrictamente, reduciendo aquel á la historia de las expediciones marítimas de los españoles en esta parte del mundo. También pertenecen al Pacífico, en recto sentido geográfico, todas aquellas tierras del continente que corresponden á la vertiente del Mar del Sur y de él reciben condiciones de vida. Ambos elementos son inseparables. Hablar, pues, de la obra de España en el Pacífico, no es á mi juicio hablar solo de Oceanía, sino también de América, de muchas regiones

americanas en que pusimos el pie y, entre ellas, de esta en que nos hallamos.

Convenido este punto, observemos que nuestra historia en el Pacífico no solo contiene todo lo sustancial de nuestra obra colonizadora, sino, en cantidad y aún en calidad, lo más de ella. Puede decirse que aquí, en estas regiones del Pacífico es donde el pueblo español de los siglos XVI y XVII sobre todo, y también respecto de California, en el XVIII, aplicó el máximo de sus energías y dió las mayores muestras de sus servicios á la civilización del mundo. Es curioso que así haya sido, pero seguramente no casual y arbitrario. Por algo nuestra acción en el continente americano, se produjo sobre todo del lado de este mar, es decir en la costa opuesta á Europa, y no en el Atlántico, en la que miraba á nosotros; y la consideración de las causas — á lo menos, las visibles para nosotros — de ese hecho, es ya un primer punta digno de la atención del verdadero historiador que no se para ante el pormenor erudito.

Por de pronto, inclinaba á que así fuese, la influencia del intento inicial que produjo el descubrimiento de América: el paso á las Indias por el Œste. La barrera de tierras nuevas encontradas en el camino, por mucho que atrajera con sus riquezas reales y soñadas y con el afán (¡tan humano antes y ahora!) de la dominación, no podía borrar el anhelo final. Era preciso seguir hacia el Œste, completar el pensamiento de Colón, llegar á las verdaderas Indias, y de allí los intentos para buscar el paso por el N. O., por el Centro, por el Sur, la empresa de Balboa, los proyectos de canal, las navagaciones múltiples de nuestros marinos mas adelante, á partir de Magallanes y Elcano.

La dirección tomada por Colón en su primer viaje, nos arrastraba tambien á venir á la vertiente del Pacífico. Algo más al Norte, hubiéramos quizá sido los colonizadores de Virginia y Nueva Inglaterra á una distancia considerable del Pacífico; algo más al Sur, la gran punta continental de las Guayanas y el Brasil, nos hubiera empeñado su labor de otro género; pero Colón vino á la entrada del golfo de Méjico, y por allí, derechamente al punto más facilmente penetrable para llegar al Pacífico y hacer de él centro de nuestra colonización y nuestras expediciones.

Un tercer hecho nos fijó aquí también, apartándonos de las regiones atlánticas mencionadas, y fué el del hallazgo, en tierras que el Pacífico baña por un lado, como México, y otras plenamente correspondientes á él, de civilizaciones indígenas adelantadas que brindaban con solicitaciones de riqueza y de dominación gloriosa.

Y en fin, la determinación principalmente occidental de nuestra obra — aún descontando todo lo que significa la acción marítima por el mismo Pacífico — se vió cumplida por la interposición, del lado del Atlántico, de actividades extrañas, que nos tomaron casi todo el Norte (Francia é Inglaterra sobre todo), con todo el Sur (Portugal) y una gran parte de las Antillas que no por ser la de las islas más pequeñas dejaba de tener importancia numérica y comercial grandísima. Sabido es, en cuanto al Sur, que nuestra verdadera colonización de las regiones del Plata (no las expediciones de descubrimiento, que son otra cosa) corresponde á tiempos relativamente últimos, y estuvo lejos de alcanzar la intensidad y las proporciones de la de Méjico, Perú, Chile, etc.

Pero, desde que en el siglo XVIII vino á plantearse en el terreno de la historiografía, de una manera doctrinal, la cuestión de lo que cada pueblo había significado hasta entonces y significaba de momento, en la obra común de la civilización (sin que sea esto decir que la pregunta no estuviera también presente en la inteligencia de los hombres anteriores al XVIII), lo que más importa á la opinión general, que pide á la Historia conclusiones y juicios, ó materia para ellos, es saber que ha hecho cada nación en cada una de las esferas de su actividad que pueda fundar un juicio favorable ó adverso de su colaboración humana.

Sería extender mucho este travajo y salirse de los límites que corresponden á su enunciación, plantear ahora este problema histórico relativamente á la obra entera de España en América y Oceanía. En otros trabajos míos he hablado de esto ó hablaré pronto y á ellos me remito, siempre con la reserva en punto á los detalles (á veces, de mucha importancia, claro es) que impone la circumstancia ya recordaba de lo mucho que aún queda por publicar y divulgar en cuanto á nuestra historia. Las líneas generales sí creo que ya se dibujan claramente, sobre todo si se tiene

en cuenta que ellas han consistido en buena parte hasta hoy (en que ya se construye científicamente nuestra historia), más en la aplicación á los hechos de criterios preconcebidos y consideraciones morales no siempre esgrimidas con lógica, que en la contemplación serena y la estimación equilibrada de los hechos todos en su enlace, relación y contrapeso natural, tal como la realidad los muestra.

Dejo, pues á un lado la consideración del móvil de nuestro movimiento colonizador, sobre todo en cuanto al reducirlo á un apetito codicioso y egoista de lucro, se ha querido hacer de esto una acusación contra España, como si solo los españoles hubiesen realizado empresar coloniales por lucro y el resto de los pueblos por filantropía, y como si nuestra civilización actual, tan firmemente establecida sobre las bases del provecho económico y del desarrollo de los intereses materiales á los que tantas cosas se sacrifican á menudo, pudiese convertir en defecto y casi en delito, la persecución de riquezas, y por tanto, la presencia de este móvil, juntamente con otros también (y España ofrece grandes ejemplos de esto) en la historia de un país. Pero téngase sobre esto la opinión que se quiera, conviene no olvidar, al hablar de ello, una cosa repetidamente observada y dicha, pero que las exigencias de la argumentación obligan á tener presente ahora, y es que con el incentivo económico (ya de los simples buscadores de riqueza, ya de los verdaderos comerciantes); el hombre lleva donde va otros elementos de vida. Un pensador español, el profesor Aramburu, ha dicho en ocasión memorable, y refiriendose á la Inquisición, una frase en que la brillantez retórica no oculta un fondo de aguda perspicacia histórica: la frase de que no está en poder del hombre evitar que las hogueras alumbren, es decir, que dan, á la vez que fuego que quema, luz que ilumina incluso los caminos por donde el fuego llegará á ser apagado; y así también podría decirse que aunque en ello no piense, el buscador de oro, y el comerciante no pueden evitar que con ellos y con los bultos de las mercaderías que acudén á satisfacer necesidades indispensables, vayan también las ideas y la civilización del pueblo á que pertenecen, es decir cosas de muy otra esfera y, á veces, de una gran elevación moral.

Así pues, aunque los españoles — todos y cada uno de los que

vinieron á América y al Pacífico, y entre ellos, los Poderes públicos de la España de entonces — no hubieran tenido otro móvil que el de la codicia, hubieran producido necesariamente, también, hechos fundamentales de civilización en otros órdenes, y sería preciso contárselos en su haber. Pero á mayor abundamiento, es bien sabido que España se propuso otras cosas que el mero provecho económico en sus descubrimientos, conquistas y colonizaciones, y entre ellas, la de extender su religión, su cultura, su espíritu, es decir, dar todo lo que tenía y era; mucho ó poco, acertado en todo ó equivocado en parte, pero lo suyo, lo que podía aportar á la obra común, creyéndolo de buena fé lo mejor, queriendo que todos los pueblos participasen de ello y, en todo caso, como á todo sujeto ocurre, puesto que nadie da más que lo que tiene, sin poder humano de dar otra cosa, y, por tanto, sin responsabilidad de no darla.

Veamos, pues, en breve resumen, qué cosas hizo España en su acción general sobre las tierras continentales que baña el Pacífico y sobre este mismo mar y sus islas. Repito que he de prescindir de detalle, reposando en el conocimiento de ellos que tiene el público á quien me dirijo y que por ello puede seguir la exposición general á que me contraigo sin necesidad de explicar cada hecho aludido.

En primer lugar, consideremos el hecho mismo de las expediciones terrestres y marítimas cuyo efecto fué añadir en poco tiempo y en cantidad inmensa, al conocimiento del planeta, partes considerables de él. En sí mismo, ese efecto es ya un servicio considerable á la civilización y al progreso del mundo; pero en relación con la obra española, tiene una significación especial importantísima, porque, como ha hecho muy bien observar Torres Campos en un trabajo relativo precisamente á California (y con él Fernández Duro y otros), la extensión de nuestros esfuerzos en aquel sentido, demuestra que no fué el pueblo español aquí solo un buscador de minas y un conquistador guerrero, sino un explorador geográfico á quien se deben descubrimientos numerosísimos, superiores en este respecto á todos los hechos en aquellos siglos por otros pueblos en esta parte del mundo. La frecuencia actual de los viajes, y la abundancia de las relaciones que á ellos

se refieren y que hoy puede leer y lee todo el mundo, nos ha gastado la admiración respecto de estos hechos con que nos hemos familiarizado. Solo cuando se produce un acto excepcional de valor, como el de Scott, v. gr., paramos la atención en ello, considerando que es algo heróico y digno de enorgullecer á los hombres que lo realizan y al pueblo á que pertenecieron. Pero en general, hemos perdido ó apagado mucho la cualidad de apreciar el valor del esfuerzo de tales empresas, más difíciles y estimables á medida que remontamos en la historia y encontramos hombres que realizaron las mismas y aún mayores hazañas que los de hoy, con menos medios y por tanto, con mayor derroche de energía personal. Y si á esta disposición espiritual del hombre de hoy añadiremos el descuido en que hemos tenido la historia y recordación de nuestros viajeros, así como el silencio deliberado ó el desconocimiento inconsciente que respecto de ellos se ha advertido por lo general durante mucho tiempo, en los escritores extranjeros, se comprenderá que cueste hoy trabajo darse cuenta de lo que fueron nuestras empresas de este género en los siglos XVI y XVII y que el gran público, que es quien forma la opinion colectiva en punto á la historia, á través de lo que le proporcionan los especialistas ó lo que encuentra en las leyendas que forman el saber vulgar, no pueda hoy formarse una idea de conjunto de aquella gran labor española, por falta de cuadro en que estén reunidos y condensados todos sus hechos.

Conviene ahora añadir que los viajes y descubrimientos españoles no fueron frutos del hazar, ni de una desordenada acción individual (aún dada toda la parte respetable que corresponde en el hacer humano á las iniciativas individuales), ni fortúitas consecuencias de intentos desgraciados que habían tenido otro objeto, como con excusable error han dicho incluso autores muy favorables á nuestra historia colonial. Fueron por el contrario, de parte de los elementos directores de nuestra acción en Indias y en la misma orientación general de los viajeros mismos considerados en conjunto, algo reflexivo, sistemático y ordenado conforme á una finalidad que se mantuvo siempre aún por bajo de los objetivos más personales y egoistas de algunos descubridores. La finalidad era de una parte, como ya dije, completar el pensamiento de Colón en su intención inicial de llegar á las Indias

Orientales, establecer relación directa de ellas con España y aprovechar sus producciones para nuestro comercio; de otra, conocer bien, en todos los aspectos que pudieran interesar (no solamente en el político y en el estrictamente económico) las nuevas tierras que se habían encontrado, reuniendo y centralizando los informes que iban recogiendo los exploradores.

Lo primero no se cumplió totalmente, porque los portugueses, llegando por el Este, habían cerrado ya el camino, sin que cupiese á España, no obstante largas negociaciones de todos sabidas más que aprovechar una parte pequeña de las tierras oceánicas próximas al Asia. La corriente comercial que de aquí previno, en lugar de orientarse respecto á España, de E. á O., por la misma ruta portuguesa, se orientó de O. á E., desde China, Japón y Filipinas hacia América y de aquí á España, á través del Pacífico, estableciendose así la primera ruta comercial de este mar por obra española. El día en que se conozca bien la historia de esa ruta y de su movimiento mercantil, en su corriente principal de la nao de Acapulco (y es de esperar que el anunciado trabajo de Mr. Schurz adelante bastante en la materia, respecto de la cual hay todavía mucho inédito que ver) y en los demás elementos que las formaron, se verá la importancia que tuvo, en sí y como precedente de desarrollos más modernos y se advertirá cómo muchas empresas españolas en Oceanía aparentemente sueltas y sin nexo, estaban interiormente unidas por el interés de servir á aquella finalidad mercantil, buscando su línea mejor y asegurándola lo más posible. Otras empresas se agrupan por finalidades independientes de aquella y derivadas ya de las consecuencias que cada descubrimiento trae consigo, planteando nuevas cuestiones geográficas cosmográficas, ya del afán general, muy vivo entonces, en el espíritu de nuestros pilotos, capitanes, y aventureros, de descubrir por la satisfacción del descubrimiento mismo ó por el provecho de la conquista y la utilidad económica. Un tercer grupo, en fin, es él motivado por la necesidad de conocer las costas del nuevo mar, primero, á partir del istmo y de Nueva España, hacia el Norte y hacia el Sur (con nuevos incentivos, á veces, como él que produjo los varios viajes de Pizarro y sus compañeros); luego, también desde Perú y Chile hacia el Sur, para enlazar con el descubrimiento de Magallanes, aparte lo que empujó en

varios sentidos el afán de buscar el paso marítimo entre los dos mares.

Dos momentos capitales hay en esta larga historia de descubrimientos y los dos corresponden á españoles; el inicial de Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, cuya importancia capitalísima reconoce el mundo entero, cuyo valor épico ya fué cantado por un escritor norte-americano, Washington Irving, y á cuya historia acaba de añadir numerosa documentación un autor español, Altolaguirre,[1] y el de Magallanes, hecho con dinero, barcos, y hombres españoles, y origen de la primera circumnavegación á que va unido el nombre de nuestro Elcano. Pero el día que á estos tres nombres gloriosos que todo el mundo conoce, y algunos pocos más que gozan de esa condición, se unan en la familiaridad del conocimiento popular todos los que concurrieron con su esfuerzo y con sus éxitos mayores ó menores á la obra secular del descubrimiento del inmenso Pacífico y las más de sus tierras, al E. al O. y en el grandioso ámbito de sus aguas, se reconocerá por todos lo que ahora solo saben algunos especialistas y es que no solo la investigación de las costas americanas del Œste, con muy corta excepción en el extremo Norte, fué puramente española, sino que también lo fué la de una gran parte de las islas del Pacífico á cuyo descubrimiento se lanzaron con tanto tesón y arrojo nuestros navegantes, sin recelo de los peligros, que como ha hecho observar un autor, más del 80 por ciento de ellos perecieron en aquellos arriesgados viajes, sin que en dos siglos cesase la corriente de ellos y dejando, á pesar del infortunio de muchas expediciones, un rastro glorioso de hallazgos y de estudios.

Renuncio á dar aquí una lista de nombres que pudiera parecer alarde de erudición, inútil, además, si se limita á esto (y para otra cosa no hay espacio); pero sí quiero decir que, una vez más, ocurre en esto que ni están publicados todos los datos que ha llegado á nosotros, ni reunidos en un conjunto, los que ya se saben, no obstante las valiosas aportaciones de Jiménez de la Espada, Zaragoza, Ferreiro, Coello, Duro, Beltrán y algun otro entre los españoles, y Collingridge, Morgan, y pocos más entre los extranjeros que con ánimo simpático á España han emprendido

[1] *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, por Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvale. (Madrid, 1914.)

investigaciones de este órden. Cuando esa labor que ahora falta esté hecha, se verá no solo lo mucho que al esfuerzo español debe el conocimiento del mar Pacífico y sus aledaños, sacando á luz y poniendo de relieve nombres hoy obscuros ó de poca resonancia, sino tambien cuán llena de episodios dramáticos ó de alta curiosidad se halla esa historia de las navegaciones españolas en la que, para que nada falte, hasta hay mugeres capitanas de expediciones, como en el Perú hubo virreinas con mando efectivo en interregnos en que nuestras ideas y costumbres no repugnaban el feminismo más. También se advertirá entonces cuán equivocada es la afirmación sostenida por algunos, de que los españoles no eran propiamente navegantes, porque todos los pilotos de sus expediciones eran extranjeros, revelandose la existencia y el papel principal de muchos nacidos en España donde el desarrollo y precisión adquiridos entonces por los estudios cosmográficos, traducidos y copiados en otros paises de Europa, y por los cartográficos, habían creado un medio propicio á la formación de buenos marinos.

En cuanto á la otra finalidad antes señalada, á saber, la de determinar lo más exactamente posible el conocimiento, en todos órdenes, de las nuevas tierras descubiertas, bastará recordar, para que se vea como á ello presidió una clara conciencia de lo que se deseaba y un saber profundo de la complejidad del intento, de una parte, aquel plan de las relaciones de Indias tan sabiamente madurado y que dió á conocer de tan brillante modo nuestro Jiménez de la Espada en su conocida colección de aquellos documentos (continuada después en otras varias publicaciones); de otra, la formación del padrón de Indias con ellas estrechamente relacionado, y, en fin, la preparación sistemática de expediciones puramente científicas como la bien sabida del Dr. Hernández en tiempo de Felipe II. E importa advertir que esta expedición y alguna otra de aquellos siglos, no fueron iniciativas esporádicas y como perdidas, sino eslabones, más ó menos valiosos, de una larga cadena, variadamente intensa según las circunstancias, pero propiamente ininterrumpida y cuyos últimos episodios están señalados, en el siglo XVIII, por las numerosas expediciones de naturalistas españoles de todos conocidas (aparte las de Jorge

Juan y Ulloa) y en el mismo siglo XIX, como término de ellas, por la llamada del Pacífico (1862-66) en que comenzó á tejerse la legítima fama del Jiménez de la Espada. Y aún cabría agrupar en alguna medida á todos estos viajes, los de Bonpland y Humboldt, pues si es cierto que los realizaron hombres de otras naciones, no lo es menos que en ellos se vieron amplimente asistidos y ayudados por el gobierno español.

Con todo esto, no es estraño que poco después de iniciados los descubrimientos, se pudiesen escribir, no solo libros como el breve pero interesante de Enciso, sino amplios y nutridos de noticias como la *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, recopilada por el cosmógrafo Juan López de Velasco,[1] treinta años antes de finalizar el siglo XVI y en parte derivada de los trabajos emprendidos en el Consejo de Indias para formar las *Relaciones* antes citadas. En ella hay ya muchas noticias de las islas oceánicas (islas de Poniente), en especial las Molucas, de Filipinas, de Nueva Guinea, Salomón, Ladrones y las costas de China, Japón y Lequios. Del mismo modo, á la luz de toda esa preparación científica y sobre la base de los innumerables materiales que iban aportando los viajeros y los misioneros, se comprende de una manera razonada la existencia del rico caudal de noticias de todo género (desde las naturalistas á las que hoy diríamos sociológicas), que se encuentra en nuestros cronistas de Indias; en unos porque aprovechan aquel material, en otros porque estaban preparados por el ambiente de la época á ver la realidad del mundo nuevo con una amplitud y complejidad de programa á que no les hubiera llevado nunca la pura tradición erudita de la historiografía dominante en el Viejo Mundo.

Y en fin, cuando la historia de todos estos hechos pueda ser totalmente escrita y trascienda en divulgaciones bien orientadas al gran público, quedará totalmente determinada la precedencia, que en muchos descubrimientos luego repetidos por extranjeros, corresponde á los españoles, aparte los que son exclusivos suyos y nadie les disputa.

Pero no quiero ni podría abandonar este órden de cosas sin hacer párrafo aparte de un asunto cuya importancia propia ha

[1] *La Geografía y Descripción Universal de las Indias*, por Juan López de Velasco. Se publicó por primera vez en 1894, con adiciones é ilustraciones de D. Justo Zaragoza.

recibido en este mismo año un elevado suplemento de interés circunstancial. Me refiero al canal de Panamá. Aquí menos que en ninguna parte del mundo, necesito realízar el valor que para la historia humana tiene el hecho de la apertura del canal; pero no es para dedicarle ditirambos para lo que yo lo traigo aquí á colación, sino para precisar la parte que en sus antecedentes corresponde á los españoles.

También es este asunto en el cual hace falta un estudio definitivo. El que recientemente le ha dedicado el erudito español Sr. Manjarrés,[1] aunque añade muchas noticias á las ya conocidas y repetidas incluso en manuales de historia, no agota las que podrían aducirse. Veinte-un proyectos cita Manjarrés (españoles todos con excepción de uno, el de M. de Fer de la Nouerre) en su trabajo, desde la idea inicial de Hernán Cortés referida al istmo de Tehuantepec, hasta el del diputado de las Cortes de Cádiz, D. José A. López de la Plata; pero aún hubiera podido añadir, entre los conocidos, el de Galve (siglo XVI), el del Consulado de Comercio y Navegación (comunicación por Patagones), y aún el de La Bastide (aunque no es español por su autor) presentado á Carlos IV. Sea cualquiera el inmenso total de los que al fin se averiguen, dos cosas resultan claros y enlazan eternamente el nombre de España á la gran obra moderna, como enlazado va en la persona de Balboa al del descubrimiento de uno de los mares ahora unidos; la una, que España pensó siempre, desde los primeros tiempos, en abrir una vía de agua artificial (puesto que natural no la había sino en los extremos del continente) entre el Pacífico y el Atlántico, y que en la concepción de la *idea* de esta obra, tanto como en la determinación de *proyectos* para realizarla y de exploraciones y trabajos que la preparasen, á ella corresponde la primacía. Cuando Champlain tuvo la *idea* del canal, en 1600, hacía años que gentes españolas habían, no solo tenido esa misma *idea*, sobre la base de la necesidad de semejante vía y del conocimiento directo de las tierras en que era posible, sino que habían determinado varios proyectos en relación con trayectorias diferentes aprovechables (Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, y Panamá). España no hizo al fin el canal, por concurrencia de diversas causas, entre

[1] *Proyectos Españoles de Canal Interoceánica*, por Ramón de Manjarrés. (*Rev. de Arch., Bib. y Mus.* Enero á Abril 1914.

las que en el siglo XVIII especialmente parece haber tenido valor la de los recelos de que la nueva vía fuese motivo de complicaciones internacionales; pero ni cesó de pensar en él durante tres siglos, ni, como Humboldt mismo reconoce, prohibió nunca que se hablase y escribiese acerca de la ruptura del istmo.

Toda esta enorme cantidad de esfuerzos dirigidos al estudio y aprovechamiento de las nuevas tierras y los nuevos mares, produjo, aparte los descubrimientos mismos y el planteamiento de los problemas de todo género que sugerían á la mentalidad las necesidades de entonces, una serie de consecuencias derivadas, pero no menos importantes, que también hay que incluir en el cuadro de la obra española en las regiones del Pacífico. Estas consecuencias fueron, sucintamente dichas, el conocimiento de la geografía y geología (hasta donde esta esfera del conocer, sin nombre ni campo propio entonces, cabía en las observaciones de los exploradores), de la botánica, la zoología y la mineralogía (esta, con todas las aplicaciones que la minería exigía y en que los españoles realizaron progresos y novedades considerables, mediante la introducción de métodos metalúrgicos algunos de los que aún se emplean), de los idiomas indígenas (en que los estudios de nuestros misioneros son capitales, como es sabido, y en numero verdaderamente extraordinario) y de las costumbres, organización social, tradiciones é historia de los amerindos, que interesaron vivamente á los españoles incluso en los particulares religiosos que más se apartaban de la ortodoxía española, hasta el punto de formar la agrupación de sus trabajos en este órden, la fuente más amplia y segura para las investigaciones modernas. Si á toda esta inmensa labor se une el servicio que representa la introducción deliberada en América de especies vegetales (unas 170) y animales aquí desconocidas y algunas de las cuales se convirtieron después en autonomáticamente americanas y el traspaso á Europa de árboles y plantas como la patata, el tomate, el maíz, la pita, el aguacate, la batata, el fresón de Chile y fresa de Virginia, etc. se tendrá el cuadro completo de la obra útil, civilizadora, tanto en el órden material como en el espiritual, que realizaron los españoles en su contacto con las nuevas tierras descubiertas del lado del Atlántico y del Pacífico.

Ese cuadro significa, de hecho, la primera implantación en

América y en parte de las islas oceánicas, de la civilización europea. Antes de España, lo que en América se encuentra es prehistoria, no obstante el adelanto material y artístico que algunas civilizaciones ofrecen, sin haber roto, en lo fundamental, el límite propio de lo primitivo. Con España, América se incorpora al movimiento occidental que ha venido á ser el molde civilizador por antonomasía, de la mayor parte del mundo y así ella fué la primera maestra en el órden del tiempo de la vida ciudadana, de la vida cristiana y de la cultura clásica reelaborada sobre el fondo de la original formación europea de la Edad Media.

Y conviene decir que la importancia de la obra española en América no está solo en la cantidad de los trabajos que la forman, sino también en la calidad de muchos de ellos. La larga lista de nombres que pueden señalarse — Oviedo, Acosta, Hernández, Ximénez, Gómez Ortega, Sahagún, Herrera, Lozano, Carmona, Mutis, Ruiz, Pavón, Azara, Sessé, Mociño, Ulloa, Jorge Juan, Pineda, Malaspina, Medina, Saavedra, Barba, Fernández de Velasco, Contreras, Acuña, Ovalle, López Medel, Elhuyar, y tantos otros que cabría citar, — está avalorada por el juicio que la labor realizada ha merecido en tiempos modernos á especialistas no sospechosos de patriotería española, como Humboldt, Linneo, Lyell, Hoefer, Sonneschmidt y muchos más. De una obra de acarréo y casualidad, fruto de una curiosidad fútil y sin dirección científica no cabría decir, como de la española de estos géneros á que me refiero ahora se ha dicho, que "ninguna nación ha hecho más sacrificios en pro de los adelantos de la Botánica"; que en Oviedo y Acosta se halla "el fundamento de lo que hoy llamamos física del globo"; que "desde la fundación de las sociedades, en ninguna otra época (como en la de nuestros descubrimientos) se había ensanchado repetidamente, y de un modo tan maravilloso, el círculo de ideas en lo que toca al mundo externo y á las relaciones con el espacio"; que "las descripciones españolas de los paises americanos se distinguen por su precisión" (juicio de Lyell), etc. Podemos, pues, estar seguros de haber aportado á la obra de la ciencia humana un caudal que nos autoriza á pedir título de colaboradores distinguidos.

Hay ciertamente, al lado de estos puntos que ya van siendo

reconocidos por la opinión general, otros de nuestra acción en las colonias todas — y por tanto en las regiones á que se refiere este trabajo, — respecto de los cuales venimos oyendo hace siglos censuras terribles. Ante todo, conviene decir con franqueza que aún en el caso de que fueran verdad *todas* las acusaciones que se han hecho contra España, singularmente en cuanto al trato de los indígenas, ellas no invalidarían la importancia de ninguno de los servicios á la civilización antes enumerados. Para que el juicio de un hombre ó de un pais sea justo, hay que computarles *todo* lo que hicieron, lo bueno y lo malo. Pretender que por existir esto último se debe borrar todo lo otro, es una injusticia y, además, una irrealidad. Todo hecho queda indelible en la historia, sea como fuere; podrá la negligencia ó la malicia de los hombres obscurecerlo por algún tiempo, pero no por eso desaparece del haber ó el deber de su autor, sobre cuya responsabilidad ó vanagloria pesará eternamente, con propio valor que nada puede contrarrestar.

Queda, pues, en pie, todo lo consignado anteriormente, y vengamos á examinar esta otra parte espiritual á que ahora nos referimos.

Después de mucho discutir, una parte considerable á la opinión ha venido á fijarse en esta fórmula intermedia: España concibió y escribió la más humana y elevada legislación de la historia relativemente á los pueblos inferiores, pero esa legislación (así como la de gobierno, que interesaba también á los mismos españoles) fué letra muerta, á pesar de la existencia y la propaganda de numerosos defensores del derecho humano, no solo con respecto á los Indios, sino también con respecto á los negros, dado que los primeros abolicionistas conocidos son españoles.

No creo que esa fórmula expresa la realidad de las cosas ocuridas. Nótese que si se acepta como buena, equivale á reconocer que, salvo una exigua minoría de hombres ilustrados y generosos (los que en el gobierno del país concibieron y redactaron aquellas leyes, desde la misma reina Ysabel, y los que en la cátedra, en el libro y en la predicación defendieron la libertad y la dignidad de los indígenas y de los africanos), la masa de los españoles fué tan cruel é indisciplinada ó estaba de tal modo imbuida en las ideas generales de desprecio y explotación del inferior que predominaban entonces en Europa (y bien las aplicaron

todos los demás pueblos colonizadores), que ni cumplieron aquellas leyes, ni perdieron una sola ocasión de sacrificar á su egoismo y á su ferocidad todas las gentes con quienes se rozaban. Algo es, sin duda, el reconocimiento de aquella minoría, tan española como la supuesta mayoría de contrarios sentimientos é ideas; pero repito que no es, á mi juicio, toda la verdad.

Notad que digo *la verdad*. No me coloco pues en un punto de vista patriótico, que procura negar sentimentalmente lo que aparece desfavorable á su patria, sino en un punto de vista científico, diciendo que aquella fórmula (que ya es absurda *a priori*, puesto que divide radicalmente las dos esferas, la de la idea y la de la vida práctica, como si perteneciesen á mundos distintos) no expresa la verdad de lo ocurrido. Ya se acepta por muchos tratadistas norte-americanos, en materia de nuestro sistema colonial, que "muchos de sus errores y maleficios existieron á causa de la incompetencia y venalidad de los funcionarios subalternos" y no de la mala organización ó la intensión dañada de los governantes metropolitanos ó de los virreyes y funcionarios superiores; lo cual, si en términos generales puede ser verdad (caso aparte de excepciones en esos mismos funcionarios superiores, que no fueron todos impecables, y bastaría citar algunos nombres de Nueva España, Tierra Firme, Perú, etc.), no hace más que trasladar, como en el caso anterior, la responsabilidad y la maldad, á los de abajo, que son también los más, confundiendo pues, en un solo juicio de "venalidad é incompetencia," á *todos* los funcionarios subalternos.

Ahora bien, es indudable que en esto hay un error y una injusticia. No es exacto historicamente que en la colonización española haya habido dos mundos distintos; uno superior, dotado de las más grandes y humanas ideas é intensiones, y otro inferior pero mucho más extenso para quien eran aquellas letra muerta. La verdad real fué que en ambos hubo gentes humanitarias, honorables y justas que supieron ser fieles al sentido de nuestra legislación (que por algo es nuestra, es decir, por algo salió de nuestro espíritu y no del de otro pueblo), como en ambos las hubo de contraria condición. Al lado de los legisladores, de los apóstoles como Las Casas, de los científicos como Vitoria, hubo una legión de personas, de las que inmediatamente estaban

en contacto con los indígenas y tenían pues que practicar sus ideas — misioneros, conquistadores, encomenderos, mineros, colonizadores, de diversas layas, — que no realizaron crueldades, ni siquiera aquellos abusos y explotaciones que todavía hoy consideran lícitas ó explicables los pueblos más adelantados del mundo, con respecto al inferior económica ó antropológicamente. La cuestión histórica en este punto se halla pues en precisar qué número de abusos hubo realmente, y en qué proporción se hallaron con los casos de humanidad y fiel aplicación de las leyes en punto á los indígenas, así como los que en el órden del gobierno señalaron — al lado de los irregularidades — una administración dentro de su propio concepto, no impecable, sin duda, pero adjustada á los moldes corrientes que la humanidad usaba entonces en todas partes.

Esta labor, propia del historiógrafo investigador y que lentamente se irá completando á medida que conozcamos más y más pormenores de hechos y que depuremos la exactitud de todos los aducidos en contrario hasta hoy, así como el valor de las declamaciones generales é imprecisas, tan naturales en los que predican una doctrina ó se quejan de algo que les parece mal y cuya pintura necesitan acentuar para que la atención de las gentes se fije en ellas, — esta labor, digo, nos dará la medida exacta — ó con la mayor aproximación posible — de la proporción en que estuvieron las prácticas buenas y las malas. Pero por muy numerosas que estas hayan sido, no podrán nunca invalidar la realidad y el mérito: 1°, de nuestras leyes de Indias; 2°, de la nutrida serie de nuestros escritores humanitarios y de nuestros juristas de alto sentido del derecho; 3°, de la larga serie de hombres benévelos, caritativos, humanos en el trato con los inferiores y celosos cumplidores de su deber profesional que incuestionablemente ofrece nuestra historia. Bastaría presentar — y solo es una parte de ese grupo — la lista de nuestros misioneros verdaderamente cristianos en su proceder, para que el haber de España en este respecto contase con una partida considerable; y no es California la región de América donde con menos justicia y verdad puede invocarse este recuerdo.

Quedaría, por último, en esta materia algo muy importante que hacer para llegar á una justa apreciación de las cosas: y es

la aplicación á los hechos de abuso comprobado (en paz y en guerra; por motivos de conquista ó de relación económica), de los criterios de juicio moral y jurídico que la humanidad de entonces y la de hoy, en su inmensa mayoría, aplica á hechos no españoles de la misma naturaleza. En materia de daños al prójimo no hay más que dos posiciones: la filantrópica, que necesariamente ha de ser pacifista y de cuya aplicación saldrían mal parados todos los pueblos de la historia, y la que podríamos llamar realista, que aprecia lo que es inevitable en las relaciones humanas tal como se han llevado hasta aquí, ó escusa lo que todos hicieron y siguen haciendo. Si se adopta el prímero sinceramente, claro es que resultarán condenados muchos hechos de nuestra conquista y colonización, pero con igual motivos los iguales — quizá peores á veces, en su género — de las demás naciones conquistadoras y colonizadoras desde la más remota antigüedad hasta los momentos actuales. Aplicarnos exclusivamente ese criterio, como nos lo han aplicado muchos escritores extraños y nosotros también, á lo menos una gran parte de nuestra opinión moderna, menos patriotera que celosa de no aparecer comprometida con la aprobación ó escusa de hechos que su conciencia actual rechaza, es una notoria injusticia. Pero convengamos también en que el criterio humanitario — v. gr. de un Reclús ó de un Pí y Margall — no es ni el profesado, ni mucho menos el practicado por la inmensa mayoría de los hombres en todos los paises del mundo y aún por los gobiernos mismos en los más de los casos. El mundo, pues, en general, no puede juzgar nuestra historia sino con el criterio que en él domina y que cada pueblo aplica para juzgar sus hechos propios ya que no los ajenos. Será pues preciso considerar los hecho tildados de reprobables en nuestra historia á la luz de ese criterio dominante, para colocarlos en situación de igualdad con todos los otros análogos, y depurar, en cada uno, el grado de responsabilidad que toca al individuo ejecutor y al pueblo de que era ciudadano, habida consideración del medio ambiente en cada época; y solo así nos colocaremos en un terreno real, sobre el que la aplicación del criterio filantrópico — que también cabe, aunque con las debidas reservas históricas — plantea otras cuestiones distintas que solo tienen derecho á formular los que ven así las cosas siempre y para todos. Siempre resultará

en nuestro haber, que las clases directoras españolas, en los tiempos de la colonización rechazaron y persiguieron muchos hechos que la conciencia general de la época estimaba lícitos y que á veces los directores modernos defienden ó realizan á título de "salus populi" ó como decimos en España, "por razón de Estado," que suele ser una razón muy cómoda y elástica.

Y todavía, á ese ejemplo jurídico y moral que España dió en aquellos siglos á los pueblos del mundo, puede añadirse otra enseñanza de órden espiritual y práctico que no es, á mi juicio, de las menores que ofrece nuestra obra en todos partes á donde llevamos nuestra actividad y principalmente en estas regiones del Nuevo Mundo. Esa enseñanza á que me refiero ahora, quizá no hay otro pueblo en el mundo más apto para comprenderla en todo lo que significa para la vida, que el pueblo norte-americano. Nace esto de un fondo común de cualidades, morales, quiero decir de voluntad y de espíritu, que españoles y norte-americanos han demostrado en momentos distintos de su historia y ante iguales necesidadas de la vida. Esas cualidades son la fortaleza en el sufrimiento, la serenidad en el peligro, la energía en la lucha, el empuje en el avance, la valentía y desprecio de las dificultades en todo momento; las que hicieron posible entre vosotros la epopeya del West y el Far-West y las que brillaron por tan alto modo en nuestros "descubridores" y "conquistadores." Así, lo hecho por los creadores de esta gran República sobre la base del primitivo hogar costero al Atlántico, encuentra su precedente en la obra de los españoles del siglo XVI, XVII y XVIII, que con menos medios materiales, tuvieron que poner en ella más elemento personal, más gasto de energía del sujeto. Así nuestra historia en América, y quizá más en estas partes del Pacífico, será siempre manantial inagotable de esos "profesores de energía" con que los pueblos modernos decadentes ó desconfiados en su propio poder, piden un contacto regenerador. Profesores así los tuvimos entonces — también hoy, sin ruido, pero con igual positiva eficacia respecto de las luchas modernas en nuestra emigración á diversos paises, — tantos y tan buenos y sugestivos como tiempos después cabe encontrarlos en otros paises. Su ejemplo puede servir no solo para nosotros, sino para todo pueblo que quiera, ó ratificar y ampliar sus cualidades ó res-

taurarlas; y el haberlo dado, ya es una buena obra de la España colonial.

Esa buena obra tuvo, á veces, momentos sublimes, cuando el temple enérgico del alma se unía á la bondad de corazón y al sentído de la justicia y la fraternidad. Entonces producía hechos como el de la colonización de California, realizada, como ha escrito Torres Campos, por "un puñado de hombres que supieron demostrar las aptitudes singulares de nuestro pueblo para la obra de la expansión y de la asimilación de los indígenas, y lo que gentes de superior cultura y espíritu elevado pueden hacer por medios pacíficos en favor de los salvajes." En esa hermosa página de nuestra historia en las regiones del Pacífico, que vosotros habéis sabido apreciar de un modo tan noble, hay nombre que no pueden pronunciarse sin un gran respeto y una honda emoción, — el del P. Junípero Serra, de un lado, y el de aquel P. Salvatierra, cuyas cartas al P. Ugarte son un alto ejemplo de serenidad ante la muerte y de persistencia varonil en la misión emprendida, hasta el último momento, que en nuestros días tan solo puede compararse con el diario del célebre Captain Scott.

Séame permitido poner bajo la égida de estos grandes nombres la terminación de este trabajo.

Mediante ellos y otros más, la historia de la civilización de California se enlaza con la de mi patria española, y ambas tienen, por algún tiempo, un campo común. Esto autoriza á pensar que podemos trabajar como compañeros, los eruditos californianos y los españoles en muchas cosas, y que tal vez, aquí podría comenzar la realización práctica de un proyecto que en 1909 expuse por primera vez en algunas repúblicas hispano-americanos,[4] y que ahora veo igualmente defendido por el profesor Stephens, á saber, el establecimiento, en el Archivo de Indias, de escuelas semejantes á las que todas las naciones han creado para el estudio de los Archivos Secretos del Vaticano. La idea encontraría camino ya hecho en algunos lugares de España que no son de los que menos pueden influir en el éxito de ella, y cierta preparación incluso en el terreno oficial. Yo me congratularía mucho con que el resultado práctico de esta visita mía á San Francisco fuese la realización de lo que considero, al par del profesor Stephens,

[4] Los términos de él pueden verse en mi libro *Mi Viaje á América.*

como una necesidad de nuestras comunes investigaciones y como una prenda de fraternidad intelectual entre ambos paises. Y aún creo que esa labor histórica en busca de la verdad referente al pasado, no ha de ser la única obra común que en lo futuro realizarán los Estados Unidos y España. Otras hay que á las dos naciones obligan en punto al deber que ambas tienen de impulsar el cumplimiento de los ideales de humanidad y civilización, cosa que, sin duda alguna, solo puede lograrse mediante la amistosa colaboración de las cualidades originales que la historia ha demostrado en cada pueblo.

SESSION OF THE PANAMA–PACIFIC HISTORICAL CONGRESS

Held at Native Sons Hall, San Francisco

July 22, 1915

The Congress was called to order at 8 : 30 p.m. by the Chairman.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen: When there was confided to me by the American Historical Association the task of preparing the programme for this Panama-Pacific Historical Congress the matter of local history caused me less trouble than any other part of the programme. It was a matter of some difficulty to obtain speakers upon other countries upon the Pacific Ocean; it was not a very difficult matter to find speakers competent to deal with American Pacific Coast History, but the easiest task was to select the speaker upon the History of California, for the very obvious reason that there is but one organized body of persons in the State of California who are interested in the history of California; and that body is the Native Sons of the Golden West.

According to the original plan of the Historical Congress, the various evening addresses were to be given in the Inside Inn, in the Exposition buildings, but, fortunately, the Inside Inn was occupied by a Greek letter fraternity, and so I have the good fortune to be able to open this session on California History, to be held where it ought to be held, — in the Native Sons Hall, — in the city of San Francisco.

I want here to thank the Committee of the Native Sons for what they have done in arranging for the meetings to-night and to-morrow night, and particularly Mr. Roland Roche, who, as chairman of their Committee, has been patient, — and he needed patience, — industrious, and exceedingly courteous. So, at this meeting, the

first ever held upon the Pacific Coast dealing with history generally — a meeting which is creating much more interest outside of San Francisco than inside San Francisco, for the simple reason that people inside San Francisco are so much engaged with the Exposition and with people wearing badges of different kinds that it is very hard for them to understand the real significance of some of the great congresses that are being held here this summer. I will venture to assert that it will be considered in years to come that one of the most important gatherings that has been held in San Francisco this summer is the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, and the volume which will contain the papers that have been read and the speeches and addresses that have been delivered at this congress will be one of the permanent acquisitions to historical knowledge.

Now, I have asked the permission of the speaker of the evening — and that Judge Davis should be selected was obvious, for there can be no question as to who should be selected to speak on California history at this gathering of visitors from the East and from Europe, — to take a few minutes to say something about California history in its relation to historical research.

We have present upon this platform, and I am very, very proud of their presence, the veteran historian of California, Mr. Theodore Hittell — I am glad, ladies and gentlemen, that you recognize the greatness of his services to California history — and a very much younger historian of California, in the person of our friend, Mr. Zoeth S. Eldredge, for when Judge John F. Davis consented to make the address of the evening, I never rested until I could obtain the consent of Mr. Hittell and Mr. Eldredge to occupy this stage with me. But, after all, it is not my business to talk about historians of California. I want to spend my minute or two upon not only what has been done in the writing of history by these two gentlemen, but in the collection of materials for California history. I presume a century or two will pass — but to the historian a century or two is a very trifling matter — before the enormous value of the Bancroft Collection will be recognized, even in California. The work that Mr. Bancroft did in collecting these documents was something that places him among the four or five great historical collectors of the world. It has so

happened that only once or twice before in the world's history has there been a man inspired to collect, while great things were being done, the actual documents that recorded those very things. Now Mr. Bancroft lived in the days when it was possible to collect documents and to collect living memorials of the beginnings of California civilization from the lips of those who made it. I say a century or two will elapse before the value of the Bancroft Collection will be generally known. Mr. H. H. Bancroft was one of those omnivorous collectors, who regarded everything as fish that came into his net. He was ready to collect anything, printed or written, that could tell the tale in the slightest degree of the foundations of California's civilization. Many, many long years ago in Europe, when I was but a student, I remember reading an article in the great French review, the *Revue Universitaire*, written by one of the most famous of the French historians, Professor C. V. Langlois, in which he dealt with what he called Bancroft and Company — "Bancroft et Compagnie" — and the way in which Mr. Bancroft collected the documents which are to-day the chief glory of the library of the University of California. But while the Regents of the University were induced to purchase the collection, and thus to make possible for the first time the study of California history from the original documents, very little could have been done to make known what was collected there had it not been for the formation of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. It was organized by a few generous, liberal minded, open hearted men and women of California, presided over by Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig. It became possible, through their generosity, not only to work over much of the Bancroft material, but to begin the publication in the original Spanish of many early documents of California history, and to begin to set together, in printed form, much that will eventually cause the true history of California to be written.

As my eye runs over the list of the members of the Council of the Academy, I cannot forbear regretting the absence from that list of the names of late United States Senator Bard, who was one of the original members of the Council of the Academy, and took the keenest interest in its work; and of the member of the Council who passed from us but last week, in the person of Mr. Frederick

W. Sharon; men like Mr. Sharon and the late Senator Bard took a keen and personal interest in the encouragement of California history. But happily there still remains upon the list the name of the friend of all good work, in whatever field it may be, Mrs. Phœbe Apperson Hearst, and the names of many others who are well known in the life of San Francisco and California. The generosity of the members of the Academy of the Pacific Coast History has made possible the arrangement of much of the Bancroft material and the starting, under the direction of Professor Teggart, the Curator of the Bancroft Library, of the publication of some of our California documents. But while the Council of the Academy did much, it was necessary to look further afield for the training of workers and editors.

One would hardly appreciate, until he tries to pronounce San José as if it were of English origin, that the origin of our civilization was Spanish. It was therefore necessary to study Spanish history in order to understand the Spanish origin of California. Several years ago the suggestion was made that the Native Sons of the Golden West should do something to aid the cause of historical research. President Wheeler, of the University of California, spoke to your membership and said that you should do something in that direction, but it was your present Grand President, Judge John F. Davis, who really planned to aid historical studies effectually. It was largely at his suggestion that the Native Sons of the Golden West established two travelling fellowships in California History, and you who subscribed, do not know, cannot know, will not know the greatness of the work you have begun.

In other States of the Union, there are subsidized historical societies. The State of Wisconsin spends forty thousand dollars a year on historical work. The State of Iowa — and it has not a very great deal of history — spends thirty-two thousand dollars a year on its documents. Up to this year, until induced to do something by the Native Sons of the Golden West, the State of California as a State did nothing for History, but the Native Sons of the Golden West established these travelling fellowships, and it is my business to know the general opinion held of these historical travelling fellowships. All over the United States there

has been an expression of admiration for the way in which the Native Sons of the Golden West have done what the State ought to have done, in the establishment of those travelling fellowships. Since they were founded much work has been done in Spain, in London, Paris, and elsewhere. So long as you maintain our fellowships you are building up a school of young historians. It was a great delight to me to see that the Board of Regents this year appointed to the faculty of the State University, an Assistant Professor of California history. For the first time during the past year a course has been offered to the students in California history; for the first time an effort has been made to train future teachers, so that they should be able to teach, intelligently and enthusiastically, California history. The man who has been chosen to be the first professor of California history is a man who has been always ready to acknowledge that the chance, that he so swiftly availed himself of, to go to Europe and study, was given to him by the Native Sons of the Golden West, and you are going to hear much in the years to come of the work done in California history by our first professor of California History, Professor Charles E. Chapman.

But the founding of fellowships is not the only thing that the Native Sons have done. Last year the Native Sons took it upon themselves to try to put through — and it has been put through in other States — a survey of local historical material. The bill was well drawn by a Native Son of the Golden West; the plan was well thought out, — based upon the experience of Connecticut and Iowa, in particular of Iowa, which is the most enthusiastic, so far as I can discover, of the middle western states in historical research, — of a system by which there should be made a regular survey of existing historical documents. Those documents are being destroyed and lost year by year, sometimes burned up. I have heard of the Supervisors of one county who deliberately burned up some tons of documents of the Spanish period, because they said they wanted the room for "more important things" — records, I presume of cases of infringement, of some small sort, of local liberties.

The local documents in California must be surveyed. Then an attempt must be made to preserve — I am addressing an audience

now of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of our State — through them the work of their fathers and grandfathers, and more particularly their mothers and grandmothers, who lived in this State. Therefore, it filled my soul with joy when the Native Sons of the Golden West got behind that plan, which your Grand President originated, of making a survey of the documents bearing upon local history, and I know how they, in slang phrase, "Got busy" and bombarded the legislature; and how the legislature, not liking the bombardment, passed the bill that the Native Sons fathered. Then came the question of whether the bill should be signed, and again it was the Native Sons of the Golden West, represented by their Grand President, who persuaded the Governor of California — and as a loyal son of California Governor Johnson did not need much persuasion — to sign that bill.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you, every one of you, who belong to the patriotic order of the Native Sons of the Golden West; it was you who did this thing, just as you helped to make possible the study of the Spanish origins of California through your work in establishing the travelling fellowships. So it is you, and you only, who have made possible the preservation of the documents that give the history of the American period in the settlement of California.

And now, having spoken longer than I ought, you may perhaps understand why it is I had no doubt as to who was the right person to speak to you this evening in this one local California session of the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress. It did not take a half a minute for me to be quite certain that the man of all others to come forth and speak to you on California history and to make the contribution (which will be printed in the memorial volume of this Congress) is your Grand President, and that he should speak here before the delegates who have come from foreign countries; among them Professor Altamira, who has come to us all the way from Spain in order to show his interest in our efforts to preserve and study Spanish California history, and in the presence of Professor Murakami, of Japan, who has come all the distance from Tokyo, delegated by the Japanese Government, to give some idea of the interest that not only Spain but Japan takes

in the growth of historical study in California, a growth made possible largely by the Native Sons of the Golden West.

Therefore, it is that the proudest moment of my tenure of office as President of the American Historical Association and thus of this historical congress is this moment, when I can declare openly before you all — I only wish there were more of you — openly before you all what is due to the Order of the Native Sons of the Golden West, first, in the foundation of fellowships; next, in their encouragement of the work of surveying local documents. That I should be able this evening to introduce as the speaker of the evening the Grand President of the Native Sons of the Golden West, the Honorable John F. Davis, and ask him here to speak in the presence of the historians Mr. Hittell and Mr. Eldredge, makes me feel that indeed California history is coming into its own at last, — the history which shows us here how upon the basis of Spanish exploration there grew up the most splendid, most typical of American democracies.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me introduce to you the Honorable John F. Davis, Grand President of the Order of the Native Sons of the Golden West.

THE HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA

JOHN F. DAVIS

ONE great difference between the history of the commonwealths on the eastern seaboard and California arises out of the fact that the colonies out of which they grew were in existence so short a time as colonies before they became independent states. One result of this is that the period during which their history was a part of European history, or dependent upon European history, was comparatively short, while their history as independent commonwealths is, comparatively speaking, their real history. Not only was their colonial history comparatively short, but the control of their own affairs was, even during their colonial periods, so intimately their own, that their history was in only a very slight degree, if at all, dependent upon the events of European history, or upon the plans and schemes of European diplomacy. Whatever relation there may have been was snapped in 1776, and from the end of the Revolution their affairs have been dependent almost entirely upon American issues, and a recital of their history becomes rational and interesting without a concordant knowledge of European history to furnish a key.

With California history, on the other hand, back of 1821, the date of the establishment of Mexico's independence from Spain, the whole story is one of European history, of European governmental plans and policies, and not until that date did its history become in any sense American. The result is that a history of events on these western shores before that date needs a complete knowledge of concordant European history to furnish the key. Take, for instance, the splendid work of the navigators: unless we have the informing knowledge of what went on behind the scenes in Europe at a corresponding period, our history of the struggle of those interesting centuries, no matter how heroic,

becomes a mere recital of events, and therefore somewhat dry to an audience looking for the mainsprings of civic and political life and action. What would be thought of a life of Columbus that consisted only of the daily logs of the *Santa María* and the other two ships on the first voyage and the logs of the ships upon the other voyages, with all the accompanying history of Spain — the struggle and triumph at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, the disputes before the councils of the nobles, La Rábida, the correspondence with Toscanelli, the intrigues of diplomacy, and all the rest of it — omitted? And it is precisely this background in full detail that we need to vivify the narrative of California history before the Mexican revolution, and the Academy of Pacific Coast History at Berkeley and the Professors of the Department of Spanish-American History at the University of California, are entitled to the thanks of the American Historical Association and of all scientific historians and to the support of all our people because they have undertaken in archives and monasteries and church records and chancelleries the research necessary to supply the need.

And yet — even with the documents we already have — the early history of the world-drama on this ocean and on these shores has begun to unfold, and at the risk of being somewhat "woodeny" for the reasons I have stated, I shall attempt, before going on to the vital things which we do understand, to call your attention to a few outstanding objective facts of the early story of this Coast. And, first of all, the name "California."

Christopher Columbus, in one of his reports to his sovereigns, gave the name of the "Terrestrial Paradise" to the beautiful mesa region near the head waters of the Orinoco River, in what was afterward called Colombia, in South America. Montalvo's charming fairy tale, entitled *The Deeds of Esplandián, the Son of Amadís of Gaul,* was published in Spain as early as 1510, eighteen years after the discovery of America, and the thrilling romance was the story of its day.

"Know then," reads the story, "that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to the side of the Terrestrial Paradise, and it was peopled by black women, without any man among them, for they lived in the fashion of

Amazons. They were of strong and hardened bodies, of ardent courage and great force. The island was the strongest in the world from its steep rocks and great cliffs. Their arms were all of gold, and so was the harness of the wild beasts which they tamed and rode. Now, in the whole island, there was no metal but gold. They also had many ships, in which they made war and brought home to their island abundant plunder; and by reason of its rocky shores and steep cliffs, there was no island in any sea stronger than this island of California, nor so strong. In this island, called California, there were many griffins, on account of the great ruggedness of the country and its infinite host of wild beasts, such as never were seen in any other part of the world. Every man who landed on these islands was immediately devoured by these griffins." Of this wonderland of fable, where precious gems were in great abundance and where the only metal was gold, Calafia was queen, and after her the island was named. Of her it was said that she was "very large in person, the most beautiful of them all, of blooming years, and in her thoughts desirous of achieving great things, strong of limb and of great courage, more than any of those who had filled her throne before her."

That the name had been given to the country by Cortés was known to historians, but the source whence he had obtained it had long been a baffling question. For the discovery of this long forgotten romance and the final solution of the derivation of the name California, the world is indebted to the patient research and the brilliant scholarship of Edward Everett Hale.

No matter what credit of discovery France may compel in Canada and on the Mississippi, or England and Holland may compel on the Atlantic coast, Spain was the undisputed pioneer of the Pacific. Columbus was an Italian, but he sailed in the employ and under the colors of Ferdinand and Isabella. Magellan and Cabrillo were Portuguese, but they sailed in the service of Spain beneath the standard of Castile and Leon. Ponce de León, De Soto, Narváez, Balboa, Pizarro, Cortés, Maldonado, Grijalva, Mendoza, Ulloa, Ferrelo, Cermeño, Vizcaíno, Gálvez, Portolá, Anza, — all were Spaniards in the employ of the Spanish crown. The first circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan and

his companions, after an expedition lasting eleven hundred and twenty-four days, John W. Draper has called "the greatest achievement in the history of the human race." One of the truest of our modern critics, Charles F. Lummis, has said: "We love manhood; and the Spanish pioneering of the Americas was the largest, longest, and most marvellous feat of manhood in all history." And the discovery of California is as legitimate an offspring of Spanish pioneering activity as any other section of the Pacific Coast.

The early history of this coast is of a relative antiquity not always realized. A mere statement of dates does not always make the point clear. "A hundred years before John Smith saw the spot on which was planted Jamestown," says H. H. Bancroft, "thousands from Spain had crossed the high seas, achieving mighty conquests, seizing large portions of the two Americas and placing under tribute their peoples." Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean two hundred and seventy-six years before the French Revolution began. Cabrillo sailed into San Diego harbor four years before Martin Luther died. Sir Francis Drake careened the *Golden Hind* under the lee of Point Reyes before Shakespeare had learned his alphabet. Junípero Serra founded our Mission of St. Francis of Assisi in the same year that the Liberty Bell rang out the Declaration of Independence in Independence Hall.

The past of California possesses a wealth of romantic interest, a variety of contrast, a novelty of resourcefulness and an intrinsic importance that enthralls the imagination. The Spanish exploration initiated by Cortés and afterwards revived by Gálvez, a marvellous drama of world-politics on these western shores, the civilization and colonization by the missions of the Franciscan fathers and the presidios of the army, the meteoric visit of Sir Francis Drake and his brother freebooters, the ominous encroachments of the Russian outposts, the decades of the pastoral life of the *haciendas* and its princely hospitality culminating in "the splendid idle forties," the petty political controversies of the Mexican régime and the play of plot and counterplot "before the Gringo came," the secret diplomatic movements of the United States to ensure the blocking of possible Russian, French, and English intrigue, the excitement of the conquest and the governmental

problems of the interregnum following the Mexican war, the story of the discovery of gold and its world-thrilling incidents and of the hardship and courage of the emigrant trail, the constitutional convention at Colton Hall and the unique method of the State's admission into the Union, the era of the Yankee clipper ships, the strenuous fight to save the state to the cause of freedom culminating in the Broderick-Terry duel, — these and later civic events of equal intensity and importance make a story absolutely kaleidoscopic in its contrasts and variety, impossible to cover within the limitations of an evening address.

Gold was the lure of the first Spanish expeditions and discoveries in California. When, in 1513, Balboa first gazed upon the Pacific Ocean — "silent, upon a peak in Darien" — Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, stood at his side. "The accursed thirst of gold" cost the Incas their treasures and their civilization. When, in 1519, Cortés burned his ships at Vera Cruz, in order that there might be no retreat, the mines, the treasures and the palaces of Montezuma and the Incas were the prizes to be won. Moreover, an age that had seen and read the reports of the marvellous wealth of Peru and New Spain (as Mexico was then called) could easily believe any story of marvellous riches that might be told. No sooner had Cortés completed the conquest of Mexico than rumors of riches in the north led to preparations for its exploration.

Many were the expeditions to the north attempted by Cortés. He first built four ships at Zacatula, but they were burned before launching. After five years four more ships were built and launched, but intrigue at home prevented the sailing of more than one, the ship commanded by Maldonado, which did not quite reach Lower California, but returned to Zacatula with the usual accounts of fertile lands and precious metals. Two new ships built by Cortés left Acapulco in 1532 but were doomed to failure. Finally two more ships were built by Cortés and were sent out from Tehuantepec in 1533, one under Mendoza and the other under Grijalva. Mendoza's crew mutinied and killed their captain, but the mate, Fortún Jiménez, continued the voyage until they discovered what they considered an island. Jiménez and twenty of his men were killed by the Indians upon attempting to land, and the survivors of the crew escaped to the eastern shores of the

water, where the ship was seized, and the few remaining survivors of this latest disaster finally brought to Cortés the news of the discovery. So it was Fortún Jiménez on the ship *Concepción* that first discovered the mysterious island. Cortés then built still other ships, and in 1535 himself sailed with over one hundred men for the Bay of Santa Cruz, on the newly discovered "island," which had itself been named Santa Cruz. The exact date when he gave it the name of California is not known, but it is known that by 1540 it bore that name.

On this supposed island Cortés attempted to plant a colony, but the scheme was not successful. The suffering of the colonists were appalling, the death-rate large, and the pitiful remnant "cursed Cortez, his island, his bay, and his discovery." Heart-sick at the sight of so much suffering, and failing to find the reputed gold he had spent a fortune in seeking, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to Mexico proper. The first attempt at colonization in the Californias had failed. Poor Cortés! He may have been the first, but he probably will not be the last to "go broke" hunting for gold mines in the Californias.

Like every man inoculated with the gold fever, however, he was loath to let go. Three years later he sent Francisco de Ulloa to explore the northern coasts. Ulloa first skirted the eastern coast of the gulf, and then, returning, sailed up the outer coast as far as 29° 56′ north latitude, thereby, at least, proving Lower California to be a peninsula instead of an island, though for generations it continued to be described and delineated as an island in many official accounts and maps of the period.

Time will not permit me to relate the fascinating narrative of the frightful hardships of the great expeditions of Alarcón by sea, up the gulf of California and the Colorado River, and of Coronado by land, in search of those will-o'-the-wisps, the fabled Seven Cities of Cíbola and the mythical Kingdom of Quivira, the latter at one time supposed to be on the coast of California in the latitude of what was subsequently called Cape Mendocino. It would take an evening alone properly to depict the high hopes, the physical heroism, the horror, and the desolation of it all, and in the end it turned away from, instead of toward, California. Once more the lure of promised fields, gold and precious stones had failed.

While Coronado was still absent on this expedition in search of Quivira, Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain, sent the brave and stout-hearted Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo on the voyage that was at last to succeed in discovering Alta or Upper California. Cabrillo started from Navidad June 27, 1542, with two small ships, and on September 28th of the same year sailed into the beautiful Bay of San Diego, which he called San Miguel in honor of Archangel Michael whose day is September 29th. To Cabrillo belongs the illustrious honor of discovering Alta California, he "being the first white man," according to Hittell, "so far as we have any positive information, who laid his eyes or placed his feet upon its soil." Cabrillo spent six days in this harbor and vicinity and then sailed north. Storms separated his vessels, but they met about the middle of November in the gulf which they named the Bahía de los Pinos, because of the pines which covered the mountains, the now celebrated Drake's Bay, where they were unable to land, but where they cast anchor in order to take possession of the country. He was finally driven south into the Gulf of the Farallones, into the vicinity of the Golden Gate, *which he failed to discover*. The early winter storms were upon him, and as a prudent navigator he finally sailed for the channel islands, in the harbor of one of which he cast anchor. Here, on January 3, 1543, Cabrillo died, giving the command to his mate Ferrelo, with the dying instruction to continue the voyage, and not quit until the entire coast had been explored. In honor of his chief, Ferrelo named the island Juan Rodríguez. Here rest the ashes of the great navigator who first discovered what we now know as California.

Right loyally did Ferrelo carry out his dying chief's instructions. On January 19th, he resumed the exploration northward, and speeding before a fierce gale he reached latitude 42° 30′ north, on March 1st, and sighted Cape Blanco, in southern Oregon. The severe storms continued until, after frightful sufferings and with his provisions reduced to a few sea-biscuits, he made for home, reaching Navidad April 14, 1543. The whole coast of the present California had been at last explored, though the Bay of San Francisco had not been discovered.

Into this drama of discovery and exploration then came one

of those startling contrasts with which the history of California is so replete. Spain and Portugal had quarreled over the ocean routes of travel, and Pope Alexander VI had settled the dispute by drawing, one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, the famous north and south Line of Demarcation, in his Bull of May 5, 1493. By treaty between those powers the line had been afterwards shifted two hundred and seventy leagues further west. Spain was to be entitled to all she discovered west of the line, Portugal to all she discovered east of the line. The Line kept Spain from sailing east, and Portugal from sailing west. Spanish trade with the Philippines and the Far East thus avoided the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian Ocean, and went around South America and across the Pacific. The English claimed, however, that they had the right to trade with the Spanish colonies by virtue of a treaty made with Spain in the reign of Charles V. Spain denied the right, and promulgated the doctrine that there was "no peace beyond the Line." England retaliated with piracy, carried on by some of her hardiest and most skilled navigators. In 1578 Sir Francis Drake, the most celebrated and resourceful of her freebooters, came through the Straits of Magellan, and up the coast of South and North America, and by the time he reached California waters his ship, the *Golden Hind*, was so loaded with loot and treasure, that he realized the desperate chances of capture he would be taking if he retraced his steps. He pushed on seeking a passage through the fabled Strait of Anian till he reached the latitude of southern Oregon, whence, he claimed, the raging weather, bitter cold, and precarious condition of his vessel compelled him to turn south, as Ferrelo had done, but instead of daring to go to the channel islands, when he came to the Farallones he named them the Islands of St. James, boldly made for the shore, beached his ship in what is now known as Drake's Bay, claimed the country for England, and named it Nova Albion — *the first New England on this continent* — June 17, 1579, forty-one years before the *Mayflower* reached Plymouth Rock, and two hundred and two years before the Battle of Bunker Hill. Here he careened and cleaned his ship, the only one left of the five with which he had sailed from England, and though he took a month in doing it, and was all that time within thirty miles of the Golden Gate,

he did not discover the Gate. He conducted services according to the ritual of the Church of England, set up a large post, upon which he nailed a brass plate, engraved with the name of Queen Elizabeth, the date, the submission of the Indians, and his own name, and not having been able to find the Strait of Anian, he provisioned his craft with seal meat from the Farallones and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, which he made in good season, and finally reached Plymouth Harbor, in England, three years after he had left it, and startled the world with the news of another circumnavigation of the globe, this time by an Englishman.

The next attempt at Spanish discovery and exploration in California arose from a different motive than the lure of gold. The Philippine Islands, it will be remembered, had been discovered by Magellan in 1521. By 1565 Spain had established colonies there. The trade with the Indies, which had been the motive of Columbus' original voyage of discovery, had begun to make a sort of clearing-house of the Philippines, and had become the most profitable trade of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Vessels on their return trip ordinarily sailed by the northern circle which brought them in first sight of land on the California coast in the neighborhood of Cape Mendocino, when they turned south for the harbor of Acapulco. The run was too long, however, and a harbor of refuge, for shelter and repair, on the stern and rock-bound coast was greatly desired, preferably not too far from the first landfall on the return home. The supreme motive was *to find a harbor*, and the supreme irony was that for nearly two hundred years navigators passed and repassed in front of one of the finest harbors of the world *and never discovered it.* In fact, the Spanish government in 1585 gave direct orders to Captain Gali for a survey of the coast of California, south of Cape Mendocino, on his return trip, and a beginning was made, and the survey resumed ten years later by Cermeño, on his return trip, and continued to Point Reyes, within thirty miles of San Francisco Bay, when he lost his ship, his pilot and some of the crew escaping in an open boat.

Of such necessity was it deemed to find a harbor that the survey was now attempted from the South. In 1596 Sebastián Vizcaíno, commissioned by the viceroy, the Count of Monterey,

sailed from Acapulco. His first trip was up the Gulf of California, and was a failure. In 1602 he again set sail from Acapulco with three ships and a launch with special instructions to survey the coast from Cape St. Lucas to Cape Mendocino. He had with him the pilot of the lost ship of Cermeño. As the log with the map was official it was of great importance to succeeding explorers, but to Californians the chief interest of Vizcaíno's second trip consists in the fact that the names which he gave to the islands, straits, capes, and other geographical prominences have, almost without exception, all come down to this day. On November 10 he sailed into San Diego harbor, and changed its name from San Miguel, the name given by Cabrillo, and named it for St. James of Alcalá (Spanish, San Diego), whose anniversary he celebrated on the shore November 14th. On the 26th he entered and named the harbor of San Pedro for St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, whose anniversary fell upon that date. He named the islands of Santa Catalina and San Clemente. He named Santa Barbara channel, through which he sailed on the Saint's day, December 4th, and also, for like reason, named Isla de Santa Barbara and Isla San Nicolás, in the latter instance supplanting the name of Juan Rodríguez given it by Ferrelo in honor of Cabrillo. On the 14th he rounded and named Punta de la Concepción. Rio del Carmelo he named after the three Carmelite friars on his ship. He named the Point of Pines and on December 28, 1602, sailed into Monterey Bay, which he named after the Count of Monterey, who had sent out the expedition. He landed, had the mass celebrated and a Te Deum chanted beneath the historic oak at the sea-shore, and unfurled the standard of Spain. Though this bay is but an open roadstead, he treated it as the long-sought harbor of refuge, and so reported to his King. Sending back the sick and the helpless on one of his ships, he pushed north with the remainder, and as the pilot of Cermeño's wrecked ship claimed that chests of silk had been left on the shore, he made the harbor of Drake's Bay, under the lee of the cape, which he named Punta de los Reyes, in honor of the Three Kings, whose feast day had happened the day of his arrival. No trace of any ship or cargo was found, and *no Bay of San Francisco was discovered*, though but thirty miles away. He then started north-

ward and was driven by a gale beyond Cape Mendocino, and when the fog lifted on January 20th, he was in sight of Cape Blanco, off the coast of southern Oregon, when, as it was the limit of his instructions, with the statement in his report that the trend of the coast was onward "towards Japan and great China, which are but a short run away," he returned to Acapulco, where he arrived toward the end of the following March. The stout old Captain and his men had been much impressed by the abundance and variety of wild game in and about Monterey, and in his report he begged an opportunity to return with sufficient equipment to make a permanent settlement, but by the time the sovereign's assent had been obtained he had become too old and infirm to make the attempt. The discovery of the harbor and the permanent settlement of country were on the knees of the gods, and not for one hundred and sixty years afterwards was it destined to be accomplished, and then from the land and not from the sea.

When we remember Cabrillo, Ferrelo, Drake, Gali, Cermeño, Vizcaíno, and all the others that passed and repassed the gate without seeing it, may we not ask ourselves, Was the curtain of fog always lowered as a screen before a vessel passed? Or was the Gate always just below the horizon? Marvellous it is that so many of these landed under the lee of Point Reyes and discovered nothing. More marvellous still that no member of Drake's crew, in all the thirty days' stay, ever climbed an eminence that commanded a view. Most marvellous of all that the pilot and crew of Cermeño, escaping in an open boat, which would naturally have kept comparatively close to the shore, saw nothing. A wonderful part has that mantle of fog played in the history of San Francisco Bay! No wonder we take down from the shelf the old Indian legend, and read it again:

"There was once a time when the entire face of the country was covered with water, except two islands, one of which was Mt. Diablo, the other Tamalpais. As the Indians increased the waters decreased, until where the lake had been became dry land. At that time what is now known as the Golden Gate was an entire chain of mountains, so that you could go from one side to the other dry-shod. There were at this time two outlets for

the waters: one was Russian River, the other San Juan. Some time afterwards a great earthquake severed the chain of mountains, and formed what is now known as the Golden Gate. Then the waters of the Great Ocean and the Bay were permitted to mingle. The rocky wall being rent asunder, it was not long before the 'pale faces' found their way in, and, as the waters decreased at the coming of the Indians, so have the Indians decreased at the approach of the white man, until the whoop is heard no more, and the council fire is no more lighted; for the Indians, like shadows, have passed silently away from the land."

And then for over one hundred and sixty years, while the commerce with the Philippines grew apace, and while the activities of Spain found occupation at home, no practical measures were taken for the exploration, colonization, or civilization of California by her. In the meantime, the far flung colonization schemes of England had occupied the Atlantic Coast, and the rising power of France had reached the Mississippi, on the east, and Bering had carried the Russian eagles across the strait, on the north. The more immediate danger appeared on the northern horizon, and Spain at length aroused herself to understand that if the Californias were to be retained, they must be occupied, settled, and civilized. As a result of the wisdom of her councillors came the great expedition of Joseph Gálvez to New Spain — Gálvez the guiding hand back of the scheme of mission and presidio and *pueblo* that has shed over the history of California a perfect halo of Spanish glory, — Gálvez, one name California must never forget, because without him, or without some one in his place, or without the continental advices that created his mission, there might have been no Anza, no Portolá, no Junípero Serra. Incident to the plan of occupation, settlement, and civilization, was soon again developed the supreme practical necessity of *finding a harbor*. The military and civil features of the expedition were entrusted to Gaspar de Portolá, and the religious feature to Junípero Serra, Father-President of the Franciscan missions. The *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos* constituted the naval feature along the coast. July 1, 1769, marked the entrance of the expedition into San Diego. On July 16, 1769, Father Junípero Serra founded the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá. I have not the

time to describe the march of Portolá and its heart-breaking incidents, nor the accidental discovery of San Francisco Bay from the heights above Montara by some of the force under his command, about November 2, 1769, nor the naming of the Bay after St. Francis of Assisi, the patron of the Franciscan order, under the promise that had been made by Portolá to Father Junípero Serra, nor the first entrance by any vessel into San Francisco Bay, when six years later, the packet-boat *San Carlos*, under the command of Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala, came through the Gate, on August 5, 1775, and cast anchor at half past ten in the evening, off what is now Sausalito. Neither have I the time to sketch the wonderful march of Juan Bautista de Anza from Sonora to the Bay that had been discovered, when he founded the Presidio of San Francisco on the Feàst of the Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi, September 17, 1776, nor the opening of Mission Dolores, postponed until the Feast of St. Francis, October 4, of the same year. That march was the Anabasis of California. Nothing in Xenophon's recital of the March of the Ten Thousand to the sea equals it. And it gives me a peculiar pleasure to give public recognition of the great service performed by Zoeth S. Eldredge, sitting upon the platform this evening, for the splendid work in his *History of California*, in five volumes, which has just come off the press, for his service in giving this brave and patient military leader his proper place in the perspective of the Spanish history of California.

Four presidios were established, at Monterey, San Francisco, San Diego, and Santa Barbara, respectively. Three *pueblos* were founded, or attempted to be founded, at San José de Guadalupe, Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Ángeles (Our Lady the Queen of the Angels), and Branciforte, the present Santa Cruz. Twenty-one missions were founded, about a day's journey apart, stretching from San Diego de Alcalá on the south to San Francisco de Solano on the north. What will ever stand out on the horizon of this period of California's history is not the story of its presidios with their incidents of the life of the military barracks and the occasional skirmish between wilful soldier and watchful *padre*, nor the story of its *pueblos* with their combination between a kind of homestead law and a sort of a city charter, but the

attempt to civilize, to uplift humanity — the battle under the standard of the cross to save the souls of men — by the missions of the Franciscan *padres*.

"The official purpose here, as in older mission undertakings," says Dr. Josiah Royce, "was a union of physical and spiritual conquest, — soldiers under a military governor coöperating to this end with missionaries and mission establishments. The natives were to be overcome by arms in so far as they might resist the conquerors, were to be attracted to the missions by peaceable measure in so far as might prove possible, were to be instructed in the faith, and were to be kept for the present under the paternal rule of the clergy, until such time as they might be ready for a free life as Christian subjects. Meanwhile, Spanish colonists were to be brought to the new land as circumstances might determine, and to these, allotments of land were to be made. No grants of lands in a legal sense were made or promised to the mission establishments whose position was to be merely that of spiritual institutions, intrusted with the education of neophytes, and with the care of the property that should be given or hereafter produced for the purpose. On the other hand, if the government tended to regard the missions as purely subsidiary to its purpose, the outgoing missionaries to this strange land were so much the more certain to be quite uncorrupted by worldly ambitions, by a hope of acquiring wealth, or by any intention to found a powerful ecclesiastical government in the new colony. They went to save souls, and their motive was as single as it was worthy of reverence. In the sequel, the more successful missions of Upper California became, for a time, very wealthy; but this was only by virtue of the gifts of nature and of the devoted labors of the *padres*."

Speaking of these upon another occasion, I said: "Such a scheme of human effort is so unique and so in contrast to much that obtains to-day that it seems like a narrative from another world. Fortunately, the annals of these missions, which ultimately extended from San Diego to beyond Sonoma, stepping-stones of civilization on this coast, are complete, and their simple disinterestedness and directness sound like a tale from Arcady. They were signally successful because those who conducted them were

true to the trusteeship of their lives. They cannot be held responsible if they were unable in a single generation to eradicate in the Indian the ingrained heredity of shiftlessness of all the generations that had gone before. It is a source of high satisfaction that there was on the part of the *padres* no record of overreaching the simple natives, no failure to respect what rights they claimed, no carnage and bloodshed, that have so often attended expeditions set nominally for civilization, but really for conquest. Here at least was one record of missionary endeavor that came to full fruition and flower, and knew no fear or despair, until it attracted the attention of the ruthless rapacity and greed of the Mexican governmental authority crouching behind the project of secularization. The enforced withdrawal of the paternal hand before the Indian had learned to stand and walk alone, coupled in some sections with the dread scourge of pestilential epidemic, wrought dispersion, decimation, and destruction. If, however, the teeming acres are now otherwise tilled, and if the herds of cattle have passed away and the communal life is gone forever, the record of what was accomplished in those pastoral days has linked the name of California with a new and imperishable architecture, and has immortalized the name of Junípero Serra. The pathetic ruin at Carmel is a shattered monument above a grave that will become a world's shrine of pilgrimage in honor of one of humanity's heroes. The patient soul that here laid down its burden will not be forgotten. The memory of the brave heart that was here consumed with love for mankind will live through the ages. And, in a sense, the work of these missions is not dead — their very ruins still preach the lesson of service and of sacrifice. As the fishermen off the coast of Brittany tell the legend that at the evening hour, as their boats pass over the vanished Atlantis, they can still hear the sounds of its activity at the bottom of the sea, so every Californian as he turns the pages of the early history of his State feels at times that he can hear the echo of the Angelus bells of the missions, and amid the din of the money-madness of these later days can find a response in 'the better angels of his nature.'"

The record of this spiritual battle is part of our tradition. It is inextricably interwoven with the history of our common-

wealth. It has been seen that it was linked up with the plans of Gálvez, and not with the plans of Cortés. The latter's prime object was the discovery of gold, and it is another of the ironies of California's history that those who had hunted for the gold did not discover it, and that when it was finally discovered, just as in the case of the harbor, it was found by accident. And it is a probability not always apprehended that had gold been discovered in the days of Spain's ascendency, the country would have been colonized by her as effectively as Peru and Mexico, and that while it would have been ultimately lost to her politically, just as they were, its destinies might never have been in the hands of Americans. Not simply the discovery of gold, then, but the *date of its discovery*, was what settled the destiny of California. Unauthenticated rumors of the existence of gold had long been bruited about. The first specific intimation was the unimportant discovery near San Fernando in 1842. Thomas O. Larkin, the consul of the United States government, had for some time been secretly sending to Washington from Monterey his impressions of the great wealth of the country and his warnings against possible observance by other powers. Knowing intimately the desires of the government, he lost no opportunity to whet its appetite. The Mexican War was impending. On the 4th of May, 1846, in an official letter to James Buchanan, then Secretary of State, Larkin boldly wrote as follows: "There is no doubt but that gold, quicksilver, lead, sulphur, and coal mines are to be found all over California, and it is equally doubtful whether, under their present owners, they will be worked." Suggestion could hardly be broader. Sixty-four days later, by one of these queer coincidences of history, on the 7th of July, 1846, Commodore Sloat raised the American flag at Monterey, and the opportunity for the Spanish, or even for the Mexicans, to discover gold in California, had passed forever.

James W. Marshall made the discovery of gold in the race of a small mill at Coloma in the latter part of January, 1848. Thereupon took place an incident of history which demonstrated that Jason and his companions were not the only Argonauts who ever made a voyage to unknown shores in search of a golden fleece. The first news of the discovery almost depopu-

lated the towns and ranches of California and even affected the discipline of the small army of occupation. The first winter brought thousands of Oregonians, Mexicans, and *Chilenos*. The extraordinary reports that reached the East were at first disbelieved, but when the private letters of army officers and men in authority were published, an indescribable gold fever took possession of the nation east of the Alleghanies. All the energetic and daring, all the physically sound of all ages, seemed bent on reaching the new El Dorado. "The old Gothic instinct of invasion seemed to survive and thrill in the fiber of our people," and the camps and gulches and mines of California witnessed a social and political phenomenon unique in the history of the world — the spirit and romance of which have been immortalized in the pages of Bret Harte. Before 1850 the population of California had risen from 51,000, as it was in 1847, to 100,000, and the average weekly increase for six weeks thereafter was 50,000. The novelty of this situation produced in many minds the most marvellous development. "Every glance westward was met by a new ray of intelligence; every drawn breath of western air brought inspiration; every step taken was over an unknown field; every experiment, every thought, every aspiration and act were original and individual."

No more interesting phase of history can be presented than that which arose in California immediately after Marshall's discovery, with reference to titles upon the public domain. The United States was still at war with Mexico, its sovereignty over the soil of California not being recognized by the latter. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was not signed until February 2, and the ratified copies thereof not exchanged at Querétaro till May 30, 1848. On the 12th of February, 1848, ten days after the signing of the treaty of peace and about three weeks after the discovery of gold at Coloma, Colonel Mason did the pioneers a signal service by issuing, as governor, the proclamation concerning the mines, which at the time was taken as a finality and certainty as to the status of mining titles in their international aspect. "From and after this date," the proclamation reads, "the Mexican laws and customs now prevailing in California relative to the denouncement of mines are hereby abolished."

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Although as the law was fourteen years afterwards expounded by the United States Supreme Court, the act was unnecessary as a precautionary measure,[1] still the practical result of the timeliness of the proclamation was to prevent attempts to found private titles to the new discovery of gold on any customs or laws of Mexico.

Meantime, California was governed by military authority. Except an act to provide for the deliveries and taking of mails at certain points on the coast, and a resolution authorizing the furnishing of arms and ammunition to certain immigrants, no federal act was passed with reference to California in any relation; in no act of Congress was California even mentioned after its annexation, until the act of March 3, 1849, extending the revenue laws of the United States "over the territory and waters of Upper California, and to create certain collection districts therein." This act of March 3, 1849, did not even create a local tribunal for its enforcement, providing instead that the District Court of Louisiana and the Supreme Court of Oregon should be courts of original jurisdiction to take cognizance of all violations of its provisions. Not even the act of the 9th of September, 1850, admitting California into the Union, extended the general laws of the United States over the State by express provision. Not until the act of September 26, 1850, establishing a District Court in the State, was it enacted by Congress "that all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect within the said State of California as elsewhere in the United States."

Though no general federal laws were extended by Congress over the later acquisitions from Mexico for more than two years after the end of the war, the paramount title to the public lands had vested in the federal government by virtue of the provisions of the treaty of peace; the public land itself had become part of the public domain of the United States. The army of occupation, however, offered no opposition to the invading army of prospectors. The miners were, in 1849, twenty years ahead of the railroad and the electric telegraph. The telephone had not yet been invented. In the parlance of the times, the prospectors

[1] United States *vs.* Castellero, 2 Black (67 U.S.), 17–371.

"had the drop" on the army. In Colonel Mason's unique report of the situation that confronted him, discretion waited upon valor. "The entire gold district," he wrote to the government at Washington, "with few exceptions of grants made some years ago by the Mexican authorities, is on land belonging to the United States. It was a matter of serious reflection with me how I could secure to the government certain rents or fees for the privilege of procuring this gold; but upon considering the large extent of the country, *the character of the people engaged, and the small scattered force at my command,* I am resolved not to interfere, but permit all to work freely." It is not recorded whether the resolute colonel was conscious of the humor of his resolution. This early suggestion of conservation was, under the circumstances, manifestly academic.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in commenting on the singular situation in which Colonel Mason found himself, clearly and forcefully states his predicament. "*His position,*" says that Court, "*was unlike anything that had preceded it in the history of our country.* . . . It was not without its difficulties, both as regards the principle upon which he should act and the actual state of affairs in California. He knew that the Mexican inhabitants of it had been remitted by the treaty of peace to those municipal laws and usages which prevailed among them before the territory had been ceded to the United States, but that a state of things and population had grown up during the war, and after the treaty of peace, which made some other authority necessary to maintain the rights of the ceded inhabitants and of immigrants from misrule and violence. He may not have comprehended fully the principle applicable to what he might rightly do in such a case, but he felt rightly, and acted accordingly. He determined, in the absence of all instruction, to maintain the existing government. The territory had been ceded as a conquest, and was to be preserved and governed as such until the sovereignty to which it had passed had legislated for it. That sovereignty was the United States, under the Constitution, by which power had been given to Congress to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, with the power also to admit new States

into this Union, with only such limitations as are expressed in the section in which this power is given. The government, of which Colonel Mason was the executive, had its origin in the lawful exercise of a belligerent right over a conquered territory. It had been instituted during the war by the command of the President of the United States. It was the government when the territory was ceded as a conquest, and it did not cease, as a matter of course, or as a necessary consequence of the restoration of peace. The President might have dissolved it by withdrawing the army and navy officers who administered it, but he did not do so. Congress could have put an end to it, but that was not done. The right inference from the inaction of both is, that it was meant to be continued until it had been legislatively changed. No presumption of a contrary intention can be made. Whatever may have been the causes of delay, it must be presumed that the delay was consistent with the true policy of the government." [1]

This guess, being the last guess, must now be taken as authoritative.

The prospectors and miners were, then, in the start, simply trespassers upon the public lands as against the government of the United States, with no laws to guide, restrain, or protect them, and with nothing to fear from the military authorities. They were equal to the occasion. The instinct of organization was a part of their heredity. Professor Macy, in a treatise issued by Johns Hopkins University, once wrote: "It has been said that if three Americans meet to talk over an item of business the first thing they do is to organize."

"Finding themselves far from the legal traditions and restraints of the settled East," says the report of the Public Land Commission of 1880, "in a pathless wilderness, under the feverish excitement of an industry as swift and full of chance as the throwing of dice, the adventurers of 1849 spontaneously instituted neighborhood or district codes of regulation, which were simply meant to define and protect a brief possessory ownership. The ravines and river bars which held the placer gold were valueless for settlement or home making, but were splendid stakes to hold for a few short seasons and gamble with nature for wealth or ruin.

[1] Cross *vs.* Harrison, 16 Howard (57 U.S.), 164, 192.

"In the absence of state and federal laws competent to meet the novel industry, and with the inbred respect for equitable adjustments of rights between man and man, the miners sought only to secure equitable rights and protection from robbery by a simple agreement as to the maximum size of a surface claim, trusting, with a well-founded confidence, that no machinery was necessary to enforce their regulations other than the swift, rough blows of public opinion. The gold seekers were not long in realizing that the source of the dust which had worked its way into the sands and bars, and distributed its precious particles over the bed rocks of rivers, was derived from solid quartz veins, which were thin sheets of mineral material inclosed in the foundation rocks of the country. Still in advance of any enactments by Legislature or Congress, the common sense of the miners, which had proved strong enough to govern with wisdom the ownership of placer mines, rose to meet the question of lode claims and sheet-like veins of quartz, and provided that a claim should consist of a certain horizontal block of the vein, however it might run, but extending indefinitely downward, with a strip of surface on, or embracing the vein's outcrop, for the placing of necessary machinery and buildings. Under this theory the lode was the property, and the surface became a mere easement.

"This early California theory of a mining claim, consisting of a certain number of running feet of vein, with a strip of land covering the surface length of the claim, is the obvious foundation for the federal legislation and present system of public disposition and private ownership of the mineral lands west of the Missouri River. Contrasted with this is the mode of disposition of mineral bearing lands east of the Missouri River, where the common law has been the rule, and where the surface tract has always carried with it all minerals vertically below it.

"The great coal, copper, lead, and zinc wealth east of the Rocky Mountains has all passed with the surface titles, and there can be little doubt if California had been contiguous to the eastern metallic regions, and its mineral development progressed naturally with the advantage of home making settlements, the power of common law precedent would have governed its whole mining history. But California was one of those extraordinary historic

exceptions that defy precedent and create original modes of life and law. And since the developers of the great precious metal mining of the far west have for the most part swarmed out of the California hive, California ideas have not only been everywhere dominant over the field of the industry, but have stemmed the tide of federal land policy, and given us a statute book with English common law in force over half the land and California common law ruling in the other."

"The discovery of gold in California," says Justice Field, speaking from the Supreme Bench of the United States, "was followed, as is well known, by an immense immigration into the State, which increased its population within three or four years from a few thousand to several hundred thousand. The lands in which the precious metals were found belonged to the United States, and were unsurveyed and not open by law to occupation and settlement. Little was known of them further than that they were situated in the Sierra Nevada mountains. Into these mountains the emigrants in vast numbers penetrated, occupying the ravines, gulches, and canyons and probing the earth in all directions for the precious metals. Wherever they went they carried with them the love of order and system of fair dealing which are the prominent characteristics of our people. In every district which they occupied they framed certain rules for their government, by which the extent of ground they could severally hold for mining was designated, their possessory right to such ground secured and enforced, and contests between them either avoided or determined. These rules bore a marked similarity, varying in the several districts only according to the extent and character of the mines; distinct provision being made for different kinds of mining, such as placer mining, quartz mining, and mining in drifts or tunnels. They all recognized *discovery*, followed by appropriation, as the foundation of the possessor's title, and development by working as the condition of its retention. And they were so framed as to secure to all comers within practicable limits absolute equality of right and privilege in working the mines. Nothing but such equality would have been tolerated by the miners, who were emphatically the law-makers, as respects mining upon the public lands in the State. The first appropriator was everywhere held

to have, within certain well-defined limits, a better right than others to the claims taken up; and in all controversies, except as against the government, he was regarded as the original owner, from whom title was to be traced. . . . These regulations and customs were appealed to in controversies in the State courts, and received their sanction; and properties to the value of many millions rested upon them. For eighteen years, from 1848 to 1866, the regulations and customs of miners, as enforced and moulded by the courts and sanctioned by the legislation of the State, constituted the law governing property in mines and the water on the public mineral lands." [1]

I have spoken of the era of the Spanish navigators, of the peaceful civilization of the missions, of the strenuous life issuing in the adoption of the mining code. Let me give you now a most characteristic example of California's democratic resourcefulness; her method of getting into the Union. But two other states at the present time — Nevada and Wyoming — celebrate the anniversary of their admission into the Union. The reason for California's celebration of that anniversary is well founded. You will recall that the delay incident to the admission of California into the Union as a State was precipitated by the tense struggle then raging in Congress between the North and the South. The admission of Wisconsin had made a tie, fifteen free States and fifteen slave States. The destiny of the nation hung upon the result of that issue, and when California finally entered the Union, it came in as the sixteenth free state, forever destroyed the equilibrium between the North and the South, and made the Civil War practically inevitable. The debate was a battle of giants. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun all took part in it. Calhoun had arisen from his death-bed, to fight the admission of California, and, upon reaching his seat in the Senate, found himself so overcome with weakness and pain that he had Mason of Virginia read the speech he had prepared in writing. Webster atoned for his hostility to the Pacific Coast before the Mexican War by answering Calhoun. "I do not hesitate to avow in the presence of the living God that if you seek to drive us from California . . . I am for disunion," declared Robert Toombs, of

[1] Jennison *vs.* Kirk, 98 U.S., 453.

Georgia, to an applauding House. "The unity of our empire hangs upon the decision of this day," answered Seward in the Senate. National history was being made with a vengeance, and California was the theme. The contest was an inspiring one, and a reading of the Congressional Record covering the period makes a Californian's blood tingle with the intensity of it all.

The struggle had been so prolonged, however, that the people upon this coast, far removed from the scene of it, and feeling more than all else that they were entitled to be protected by a system of laws, grew impatient. They finally proceeded in a characteristically Californian way. They met in legislative assembly and proclaimed: "It is the duty of the government of the United States to give us laws; and when that duty is not performed one of the clearest rights we have left is to govern ourselves."

The first provisional government meeting was held in the *pueblo* of San José, December 11, 1848, and unanimously recommended that a general convention be held at the *pueblo* of San José on the second Monday of January following. At San Francisco a similar provisional meeting was held, though the date of the proposed convention was fixed for the first Monday in March, 1849, and afterwards changed to the first Monday in August.

The various assemblies which had placed other conditions and fixed other dates and places for the holding of the same, gave way, and a general election was finally held under the provisions of a proclamation issued by General Bennet Riley, the United States General commanding, a proclamation for the issuance of which there was no legislative warrant whatever. While the Legislative Assembly of San Francisco recognized his military authority, in which capacity he was not formidable, it did not recognize his civil power. General Riley, however, with that rare diplomacy which seems to have attached to all federal military people when acting on the Pacific Coast, realizing that any organized government that proceeded from an orderly concourse of the people was preferable to the exasperating condition in which the community was left to face its increasing problem under Congressional inaction, himself issued the proclamation for a general convention, which is itself a gem. The delegates met in

Monterey, at Colton Hall, on the 1st of September, and organized on the 3d of September, 1849.

The convention was one of the keenest and most intelligent that ever assembled for the fulfillment of a legislative responsibility. Six of the delegates had resided in California less than six months, while only twenty-one, exclusive of the seven native Californians, had resided here for more than three years. The average age of all the delegates was 36 years. The debates of that convention should be familiar to every citizen of this State. No Californian should be unfamiliar with the great debate on what was to constitute the eastern boundary of the State of California, a debate accompanied by an intensity of feeling which in the end almost wrecked the convention. The dramatic scenes wrought by the patriotism that saved the wrecking of the convention stand out in bold relief. The constitution adopted by this convention was ratified November 13, 1849, and at the same election an entire State and legislative ticket, with two representatives to Congress, was chosen. The senators and assemblymen-elect met in San José on December 15, 1849. On December 20, 1849, the *State government* of California was established and Governor Peter H. Burnett was inaugurated as the first Governor of the *State of California*, and soon thereafter William M. Gwin and John C. Frémont were elected the first United States Senators from the *State of California*. Notwithstanding the fact that there had never been any territorial form of government, notwithstanding the fact that California had not yet been admitted into the Union, these men were all elected as members of the *State government*, and the United States Senators and members of Congress started for Washington to help get the State admitted.

Immediately upon the inauguration of Governor Burnett, General Riley issued this remarkable proclamation:

"To the People of California: A new executive having been elected and installed into office, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the State, the undersigned hereby resigns his powers as Governor of California. In thus dissolving his official connection with the people of this country he would tender to them his heartfelt thanks for their many kind attentions and for the uniform support which they have given to the measures

of his administration. The principal object of all his wishes is now accomplished — the people have a government of their own choice, and one which, under the favor of Divine Providence, will secure their own prosperity and happiness and the permanent welfare of *the new State.*"

No matter what the legal objections to this course might be, notwithstanding the fact that Congress had as yet passed no bill for the admission of California as a State into the Union, and might never pass one, California broke all precedents by declaring itself a State, and a free State at that, and sent its representatives to Washington to hurry up the passage of the bill which should admit it into the Union.

The brilliant audacity of California's method of admission into the Union stands without parallel in the history of the nation. Outside of the original thirteen colonies she was the only State carved out of the national domain which was admitted into the Union without a previous enabling act or territorial apprenticeship. What was called the State of Deseret tried it and failed, and the annexation of Texas was the annexation of a foreign republic. The so-called State of Transylvania and State of Franklin had been attempted secessions of western counties of the original States of Virginia and North Carolina, respectively, and their abortive attempts at admission were addressed to the Continental Congress and not to the Congress of the United States. With full right, then, did California, by express resolution spreading the explanation upon the minutes of her constitutional convention,[1] avowedly place upon her great seal her Minerva — her "robed goddess-in-arms," — not as the goddess of wisdom, not as the goddess of war, but to signify that as Minerva was not born but sprang full-armed from the brain of Jupiter, so California, without territorial childhood, sprang full-grown into the sisterhood of states.

When it is remembered that California was not admitted into the Union till September 9, 1850, and yet that the first session of its *State* legislature had met, legislated, and *adjourned* by April 22, 1850, some appreciation may be had of the speed limit — if there

[1] J. Ross Browne, *Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the Constitution in 1849*, pp. 304, 322, 323.

was a limit. The record of the naïve self-sufficiency of that legislature is little short of amazing.

On February 9, 1850, seven months before the admission of the State, it coolly passed the following resolution: "That the Governor be, and he is hereby authorized and requested, to cause to be procured, and prepared in the manner prescribed by the Washington Monument Association, a block of California marble, cinnabar, gold quartz, or granite of suitable dimensions, with the word 'California' chiselled on its face, and that he cause the same to be forwarded to the Managers of the Washington Monument Association in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, to constitute a portion of the monument now being erected in that city to the memory of George Washington." California did not intend to be absent from any feast, or left out of any procession — not if she knew it. And the resolution was obeyed — the stone was cut from a marble-bed on a ranch just outside Placerville, and is now in the monument!

On April 13, 1850, nearly five months before California was admitted into the Union, that legislature gaily passed an act consisting of this provision: "The Common law of England, so far as it is not repugnant to or inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, or the constitution or laws of the State of California, shall be the rule of the decision in all the Courts of the State."

Among other things, three joint resolutions were passed, one demanding of the Federal Government not only a change in the manner of transporting the mails, but also in the manner of their distribution at San Francisco, a second urging upon Congress the importance of authorizing, as soon as practicable, *the construction of a national railroad from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River,* — not from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, but from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River, — and a third urging appropriate grants of land by the general government to each commissioned officer of the Army of the United States who faithfully and honorably served out a complete term of service in the war with Mexico. Each of the last two resolutions, with grim determination, and without a suspicion of humor, contained this further resolution: "That His Excellency, the Governor, be

requested to forward *to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress* a certified copy of this joint resolution."

These resolutions were passed five months before the State was admitted into the Union. If the Senators and Representatives were not yet actually "in Congress," — well, they were at least in Washington — and busy. The desire to be admitted into the Union had developed into a yearning to be considered a part of the Union, had ripened into a conviction that the State was, potentially at least, actually a part of the Union, a yearning and a conviction that became almost pathetic in their intensity. The legislature adjourned, and for nearly five months the population of San Francisco assembled on the Plaza on the arrival of every Panama steamer, waiting — waiting — waiting for the answer, which when it did come (in October, 1850) was celebrated with an abandon of joy that has never been equalled on any succeeding Ninth of September.

Californians are recreant to their heritage when they are ignorant of the lives and experiences of those who preceded them on this coast. This history is part of the history of the nation. The record of the achievement of the empire-builders of this coast is one that inspires civic pride and a reverence for their memories. Why should the story remain practically unknown? Why should every little unimportant detail of the petty incidents of Queen Anne's War, and King Philip's War, and Braddock's campaign be crammed into the heads of children who until lately never heard the name of Portolá? The beautiful story of Paul Revere's ride is known to every one, but how many know the story of the invincible determination in the building of Ugarte's ship? William Penn's honest treatment of the Indians is a household word to people who never knew of the existence of Gálvez or Junípero Serra. The story of the hardships of the New England pilgrims in the first winter on the "stern and rock-bound coast" of Massachusetts, is not more pitiful than that of the fate of the immigrants at Donner Lake. Longfellow's "Courtship of Miles Standish and Priscilla" is found in every book of school declamations, but Bret Harte's poem of the tragic love-story of Rezánov and Concha Arguëllo only in complete editions of his works. Why herald the ridiculous attempt of Rhode Island to keep out of the

Union, and not acclaim the splendid effort of California to break into it? Why exhaust our enthusiasm on the charming anecdotage of Chauncey Depew and ignore the flaming eloquence of Thomas Starr King and E. D. Baker? How many have ever read the proclamation issued by Commodore Sloat to his marines when he sent the landing-party ashore to hoist the colors at Monterey, — a proclamation that has all the dignity of a ritual, and should be learned by heart as a part of his education by every school-boy in California?

Let me not be misunderstood. I would detract nothing from the glory of other sections of the country. I would minimize nothing of any State's accomplishment. Some of them have a record that is almost a synonym for patriotism. Their tradition is our inheritance; their achievement is our gain. Wisconsin cannot become a veritable workshop of social and economic experiment without the nation being the beneficiary. New England does not enrich her own literature without shedding luster on the literature of the nation. They and theirs belong also to us and to ours. Least of all do I forget the old Bay State and her high tradition — State of Hancock and Warren, of John Quincy Adams and Webster, of Sumner and Phillips and Garrison and John A. Andrew, of Longfellow and Lowell and Whittier and Holmes. Her hopes are my hopes; her fears are my fears. May my heart cease its beating, if, in any presence or any under pressure, it fail to respond an Amen to the Puritan's prayer, "God save the commonwealth of Massachusetts."

But, Gentlemen of the American Historical Association, if they belong to us, we also belong to them. If their traditions belong to us, so also our tradition belongs to them. We simply ask that California be given her proper proportionate place in the history of the country. California simply wants her "place in the sun."

Possibly we have been ourselves somewhat to blame. Possibly in the whirl of introducing the evidence during the trial we have been somewhat neglectful of the state of the record. When I find myself among historians I am somewhat puzzled to reflect that when they read papers at great historical congresses, they sometimes omit the objective facts of history, and the more eminent of them are sometimes tempted to philosophize. When

they are through philosophizing, they prophesy. May I too be permitted, for a moment, to forget that this is an historical congress? May I, too, be permitted to philosophize a little, — if not to prophesy? Wendell Phillips used to say — and he loved to rub it in — "Men make history; scholars write it!" Here in California live a people, and the descendants of a people, drawn from the ends of the earth. Here is the melting-pot of the nations. It is a people keenly alive to the problems of the present. Its environment has thrown it back upon itself and made it a resourceful people. It is a virile people, confident and unafraid. It is the most democratic people in the world — even the women vote. It employs the latest governmental methods and sanctions without having any longer even a consciousness of their novelty. The surmounting of physical obstruction and the perfecting of mechanical invention is the record of its daily experience. It is a young people — with its child-heart intact, with all youth's contempt for obstacles. It can with incredible courage rebuild a metropolis from its ashes, and in the celebration of the uniting of the oceans it can evoke the admiration of the world with two expositions instead of one, each an enduring lesson of challenging beauty.

Is it any wonder that, when we stop to look backward or to write our record, we are distracted by the scenes and problems of the everlasting present: governmental problems, social problems, industrial problems, international problems, world problems? We see the canal finished before our eyes. The seat of empire begins to shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In this very congress, whose sessions are now closing, you have been given the historical background and framework of the new arena. The prophecy of William Henry Seward is being made a reality. The vision of Alexander von Humboldt is coming true. We cannot resist the call of the blood. Though we have a just pride in our forbears and love our State's traditions, and wish to promote and perpetuate a knowledge of them, and though some of us call ourselves Native Sons of the Golden West, I have a feeling that in intellect, in temperament, in environment, and, it may be, in opportunity, we are still — the Pioneers.

SESSION OF THE PANAMA-PACIFIC HISTORICAL CONGRESS

HELD AT NATIVE SONS HALL, SAN FRANCISCO

July 23, 1915

The convention was called to order at 8:30 P.M. by the Chairman.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen: this last session of the Panama Pacific Historical Congress will be distinguished by the reading of a paper on "The American Inter-Oceanic Canal: an Historical Sketch of the Canal Idea," by Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, Secretary of the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

Mr. Taussig will tell the story of the idea of making a canal. It is practically the same thing as the history of the idea of making the Panama Pacific Canal, which opens a new era in the history of the Pacific Ocean.

I have the aid on the platform here of two distinguished delegates, one from Spain and the other from Japan. During his presence at the Congress, by many speeches and in many ways, Professor Altamira has endeared himself to those who are responsible for this Historical Congress. Professor N. Murakami has, in the excellent paper he read today at Palo Alto, shown that the new land of Japan is as interested in things of the Pacific Ocean as the old land of Spain. To support them two former presidents of the American Historical Association, Professor Turner, of Harvard University, and Professor Jameson are here present. A little later we are to be favored by another former president of the American Historical Association, who, while he has written history, has also made it, and who has promised to be present shortly to tell us how he made the Canal, which Mr. Taussig will trace from its original idea.

I present to you Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig.

THE AMERICAN INTER-OCEANIC CANAL: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CANAL IDEA[1]

RUDOLPH J. TAUSSIG

THE task assigned to me by the President of the American Historical Association for the Panama Pacific Historical Congress of 1915, is perhaps the only one which might possibly lie within the power of one who, like myself, is not a trained historian. There are no evidences to be weighed — one against the other — nor is there any great question to be solved concerning the reliability of the sources of information.

The materials that could possibly be made use of are first, the records of voyages made in search of "the secret of the strait" which would permit a direct passage of ships from Europe to far Cathay by sailing westward, and second, the various schemes advanced for making such an artificial strait by the work of man in default of a natural one already existing.

I must however ask your indulgence, as it was by no means easy to reduce the great amount of available material to the limits of a short paper.

It took a little over four centuries of search, of diplomacy, and of work to present the world with the completed water-way and only the merest outline of its historical development can possibly be attempted here. The poet's dream of the mingling of the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific across any part of the American continents from the Straits of Magellan to the Arctic Ocean must remain a dream until waters run uphill and cross a range of mountains or until the mountains themselves are moved away.

[1] Whatever may be "worth while" in this sketch is due to the friendly advice of Professor H. Morse Stephens, the kindly assistance of Assistant Curator H. I. Priestley of the Bancroft Library, and Assistant Professor Chas. E. Chapman, of the University of California, and the courtesies of Librarian Frank B. Graves of the Mechanics-Mercantile Library of San Francisco.

A small water-way between the oceans was established within the boundaries of the Republic of Colombia in the state of Chocó, but it could only be used in the time of heavy rains. The ravine of the Raspadura unites the sources of the River San Juan, which flows into the Pacific, with one of the tributaries of the River Atrato, which flows into the Atlantic. In 1788 the curé of the village of Novita employed his parishioners, who were mostly Indians and negroes, to dig a small canal in this ravine by means of which, when the rains were abundant, canoes loaded with cacao could pass from ocean to ocean. Humboldt said that this inter-oceanic communication was unknown to the Spaniards in Europe and gave the distance from sea to sea as about 300 miles, but it was certainly known to them in the first decade of the 19th century. Here then is an account of a canal without locks, dug between the headwaters of two great rivers which flow in opposite directions.

Humboldt stated his belief that he was the first to mention it in Europe. He said that it might easily be enlarged if other available streams were joined to it and that feeding trenches might easily be established in a country like Chocó, where it rained during the whole year and where thunder was heard every day. Continuing he said "that the ministry at Madrid never enjoined the Viceroy of New Spain to fill up the ravine of Raspadura or to punish with death those who attempted to reëstablish a canal at Chocó, as has been asserted."

There is also an account of the mingling of the headwaters of two rivers on the Isthmus of Panama during the heavy winter rains, which is perhaps of equal importance with the mingling of the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence rivers during the time of the spring freshets—poetically true but of no practical value.

The publication of the travels of Marco Polo at the end of the thirteenth century acquainted Europe with the port of Zaitun, with the name of the Great Khan, with the country of Cathay, and with the enormous riches of the Orient. The merchant adventurers of Venice and of Genoa were eager to open commercial relations with the Far East and overland trade routes were established,—long in distance and fraught with danger to person and property.

A shorter way to the Orient was a dream without hope of realization so long as the belief prevailed in Europe that the earth was flat, — beginning at the water's edge of the fierce Atlantic and ending at the sea beyond Cathay.

According to an account which has lately been questioned, a Florentine astronomer, Paolo Toscanelli, expressed his opinion in a letter to the King of Portugal that the earth was round, and in 1474 sent a copy of the letter to Christopher Columbus. Columbus had come to the same conclusion, namely, that by sailing westward he would reach the islands and mainland of Japan and China, nor did he think that the undertaking would be so difficult nor the voyage so long as some supposed. In order to prove his conclusion and to present Europe with a solution of the problem of a short way to Cathay and its enormous wealth, Columbus began his long campaign for the necessary assistance. He was finally fitted out by the monarchs of Castile and Aragon for a voyage across the unknown sea to India. He never knew that he had discovered a new continent and could not understand why he could get no information concerning the Great Khan at the city of "Guesay," to whom he carried letters from Ferdinand and Isabella. While preparing for his fourth and last voyage, he requested permission to carry with him one or two men versed in the Arabic tongue, and the letter from Ferdinand and Isabella dated March 14, 1502, granting his request, provided it should not detain him too long, is of record.

In writing to Spain from Jamaica, on July 7, 1503, Columbus stated that he was within seven days' journey by land from the province of Ciguare, which was but ten days' journey from the river Ganges, and that when he was upon the coast of Veragua he was relatively in the same position to Ciguare as Tortosa on the Mediterranean to Fuente on the Bay of Biscay, or as Pisa on the Ligurian sea to Venice on the Adriatic, indicating in this way his information concerning the existence of another sea. No doubt this but increased his eagerness to find the strait which would permit him to reach his destination, although he seems to have satisfied himself that it did not exist anywhere within the territory which he himself had visited thus far, that is, from Cape Gracias á Diós in Nicaragua to the Gulf of Paria in Venezuela.

It was ten years later that the sea of which Columbus had been told was first seen by Europeans when Balboa led his expedition across the Isthmus of Panama in 1513. Balboa had also heard of this great sea lying south of his city of Santa María de la Antiguedad del Darien on the Gulf of Urabá, and had been warned by his friends amongst the natives of the great difficulties attending the crossing of the mountains, and the necessity of a large force of men to overcome the hostile nations which would bar his progress. But the lure of gold and pearls permitted no obstacle to stand in the way of discovery and wealth. Balboa did not long enjoy the fruits of his expedition, for he was executed in 1517. With the founding of the city of Panama in 1519 even the city of Santa María, to which he had devoted himself and which was the last vestige of the early schemes of colonization of Nicuesa and of Hojeda, gradually disappeared.

Animated by news of the voyages and discoveries of Columbus, John Cabot and his son Sebastian undertook to find a way westward to where the spices grew. Judging from the form of the sphere that the voyage would be shorter if they sailed in a northwesterly direction they prevailed upon Henry VII of England in 1497 to provide them with two vessels for their purpose of discovery. They expected to find Cathay, and from there turn toward India. They reached the American continent and sailed, perhaps, as far north as 56° latitude and as far south as Florida. Failing to solve the secret of the strait, they returned to England.

The persistence with which this secret (of the strait) was now pursued would seem remarkable were it not for the ignorance which so long prevailed concerning the geography of America. Even as late as 1843 Gen. J. C. Frémont in his report upon the exploring expedition to Oregon and North California speaks of his search for the Buenaventura River "which," he says, "has had a place in so many maps, and countenanced the belief of the existence of a great river flowing from the Rocky Mountains to the Bay of San Francisco."

In 1514 the King of Spain directed Juan Díaz de Solís, who was sailing for the new world under the King's orders, to find out if the country we now call Central America were not an island.

In 1519 Magellan sailed from Spain in search of the shortest

way to the Spice Islands, and the straits that bear his name tell the story of his success. He was the only one who did find a way from the Atlantic to the Pacific without sailing around Cape Horn. This however was not particularly satisfactory, as it was too far south and the navigation stormy and difficult.

In 1521 the Emperor Charles V acknowledged the services of Francisco de Garay for having attempted, though unsuccessfully, to find the strait and three years later Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón was directed to continue the search.

By 1525 it was generally conceded that there was no passage from sea to sea between Florida and the Gulf of Darien (or Urabá), and more attention was paid to the latitudes farther north. Estevan Gómez in that year announced his ability to find the strait north of Florida. He returned to Spain after a voyage of ten months, naturally without success, but a misunderstanding of words when he arrived spread the report over Europe that the straits had been found. He brought some Indian prisoners with him who were to be sold as slaves, and due to a confusion of the word "esclavos" (slaves) with "clavos" (cloves) the news went abroad that he had found a way to the land of spices, and for a time considerable credence was given to the rumor.

About the same time Pedrarias Dávila, who had been made governor on the Isthmus and who had sent expeditions to explore the country in the neighborhood of Lake Nicaragua, where the city of Granada was founded in 1523, expressed his conviction that there must be some connection between Lake Nicaragua and the South Sea, only three leagues away. He was certain that this would be found, and the passage from the Atlantic by way of the San Juan River completed.

In 1527 Hernando de la Serna was ordered to explore the Chagres River which flows into the Atlantic and the Río Grande which flows into the Pacific not far from the city of Panama. He it was who reported that at high tide the waters of the two rivers mingled and could be navigated with small boats from sea to sea.

Cortés after his conquest of Mexico devoted time and energy to the exploration of both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, endeavoring to find a way from ocean to ocean. He sent a small fleet up the Atlantic coast from Florida and also fitted out several

expeditions on the Pacific at Tehuantepec. The latter resulted in the discovery and exploration of the Gulf of California.

The Emperor Charles V in 1534 ordered experts to examine the land lying between the Chagres River and the South Sea, and to report upon the proper means to connect the ocean with the river at its head of navigation. They were also to report upon the cost of its accomplishment in time, money, and labor. Pascual Andajoya, at that time governor of the province, on October 22 replied to the Emperor's orders to assist in this work, that he would do so in the following spring as it was impossible to accomplish anything during the winter. At the same time he asserted that no prince no matter how powerful he might be could accomplish the union of the two oceans nor provide means for connecting the ocean with the river, but that in order to maintain a road between Nombre de Diós and Panama and to clear the Chagres River to the head of navigation, all that would be necessary would be to provide him with fifty negroes, who would do the work and maintain the road at but little cost.

In 1542 Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed from Navidad and sighting the coast of Lower California on July 2 explored the coast northward and entered San Diego Bay. Although Cabrillo died in January 1543 the voyage of discovery was continued, the expedition reaching as high as 44° N. latitude. Naturally no strait through the continent was found.

Gómara, the Spanish historian whose *Historia General de las Indias* first appeared at Saragossa in 1552–3, wrote that the voyage from Spain to the Moluccas by way of the Straits of Magellan was long and dangerous.

Speaking with men well versed in the affairs of the Indies he had heard of a good site for a canal, the completion of which though costly would not only be advantageous but would bring glory to any one who would undertake it and accomplish it. This passage would have to be built through Tierra Firme from one ocean to the other by one of the four following routes:

First, by way of the Chagres River, which rises within four leagues of Panama, or

Second, by way of the San Juan River to Lake Nicaragua, which is only three or four leagues from the Pacific Ocean, or

Third, from the River of Vera Cruz to Tehuantepec, or

Fourth, from the Gulf of Urabá to the Gulf of San Miguel, a distance of twenty-five leagues.

The last two he considered the most difficult. There were lands to overcome, he said, but there were hands to do it. The spirit would not be wanting where the money could be obtained and the Indies where the work was to be done would provide it. If this passage were built one third of the distance would be saved and for the trade in spices, for the wealth of India, and for a king of Spain the work was but a small affair.

An account is given in Purchas' *Pilgrims* of a Portuguese named Martin Chacke who claimed to have sailed from the East Indies to the North Sea through a passage in latitude 59° N. in the year 1565. During a severe storm his ship was separated from the balance of the fleet that he was sailing with, but by finding this passage he came to anchor at Lisbon four or five weeks in advance of his companions.

Again came the rumor that in 1556 or 1557 Andrés de Urdaneta had discovered the passage between the seas and that Salvatierra had traced it on a chart. No documentary evidence of this has been found. In a later report to the government, Urdaneta wrote that news had been received in New Spain of a passage discovered by the French, who had entered it by way of the coast of Labrador at about 70° N. latitude, thence sailing S.W. to below 50° had found an open sea easily navigable to China. Furthermore, said he, a passage had been discovered farther south by the same explorers, and Spain ought at once to investigate the matter; if found true, the entrances ought to be fortified for protection against foreign aggression or use.

In 1590 Padre José de Acosta in his *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* wrote that there were some who said that the land would be submerged if an opening were made between the two oceans, as the level of one was lower than the other, and that for the same reason the Red Sea had never been connected by canal with the waters of the Nile. In his opinion no human power would suffice to level the rocks and mountains which God had placed between the two oceans in order to withstand the fury of the waves. The frequent disasters which befell expeditions through the

Straits of Magellan and the great cost of that voyage made transportation across the Isthmus far more desirable. While for this purpose Nombre de Diós, the Atlantic terminus of the road to Panama, was fortified to protect the road against pirates, the Straits of Magellan were forgotten even to the point of doubting their existence.

It may be proper here to mention the story concerning Philip II, who is reported to have prohibited further consideration of an inter-oceanic canal. A later Spanish writer states that if such an order were issued, it was done to prevent so far as possible any further aggression upon the part of other nations. An attack upon the Spanish possessions would have been made far easier by the existence of a canal, which would have opened the way to Peru, where otherwise another fleet would have to be created on the Pacific by the attacking forces.

Lucien N. B. Wyse mentions this matter in his book *Le Canal de Panama*, published in 1886. He says that he examined the Spanish and Granadan archives, looking in vain for this decree supposed to have been issued by Philip II according to Alcedo. He thinks however that the confusion arose from a decree issued by Philip V in 1719, which threatened with capital punishment anyone who should dare to make any further investigations concerning the junction of the River Atrato with any stream flowing into the Pacific Ocean. This was done at the suggestion of the governor of New Granada in order to protect the custom-house at Carthagena against the activity of smugglers.

During this time England also, developing her naval power and advancing her schemes for colonization and trade, was not idle in the search for the secret of the Strait. Her sailors swept the seas in their attempts to find it. Towards the end of the sixteenth century expeditions under Frobisher and Davis tried to find their way through the northern part of the American continent and left the names of their commanders on our maps of the waters that they explored.

Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado was another of those who claimed to have found a passage from sea to sea in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada. While his account seems to have been discredited in his own time, it is stated by Navarrete that two hun-

dred years later, towards the end of the eighteenth century, considerable attention was paid to his story and the Spanish government sent the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* from Acapulco to investigate and report upon the Maldonado voyage.

The voyage of Juan de Fuca is reported by Purchas to have been made in 1592. He claimed to have sailed from Mexico up the coast of California in search of the reputed straits of Anian and the passage to the North Sea. When he arrived in latitude 47° N. he found a broad inlet between the 47th and 48th parallels which he entered and after sailing through it for twenty days, came into the Atlantic. Having thus in his opinion accomplished his purpose he returned to Acapulco. The only record of his voyage lies in the strait that bears his name, an appellation of later date than the supposed voyage.

The right worshipful merchants of the Moscovie and Turkie Company of England fitted out two vessels in 1602 under command of Captain George Weymouth to discover the northwest passage to China. For better success of the voyage this small fleet was provided with a great traveller and learned minister who had been in Persia and Turkey and was therefore familiar with the language and customs of the people whom the expedition was intended to visit. After sailing along the coast of Labrador for some time they returned to England without having accomplished anything. No better success attended the expedition of Master John Knight, who was sent out from England by a company of merchants in 1606, but returned to England after a fruitless voyage full of hardships and mishaps.

In reviewing the voyages made in search of the straits by the English, Purchas expressed himself as satisfied of its existence. The constant great tides in Hudson Bay every twelve hours and the increase of those tides whenever strong western winds blew, convinced him that the main Western Ocean was not far away. "So may all the world," he says, "be in this beholding to us in opening a new and large passage, both much nearer and safer and far more wholesome and temperate through the continent of Virginia and by Fretum Hudson, to all those rich countries bordering upon the South Sea in the East and West Indies."

Philip III (1598–1621) was also interested in finding the strait, and there is a letter from Pedro de Ledesma on behalf of the King to the President of the City of Panama, dated Dec. 31, 1616, concerning the necessary steps to be taken to examine the entrance supposed to exist by way of the River Darien to the South Sea. Upon the same date he also directed the fleet bound for Tierra Firme to make the same investigation.

In 1636 Francisco de Vergara, to whom Spain had granted the privilege of exploring the coast of California, transferred his right to Esteban Carbonel. The privilege was withdrawn, a suit was brought against Carbonel and he was arrested because of suspicious circumstances attending his proposed voyage. It was learned that he was a Frenchman and had French companions with him, some of them from New France, who said that a strait through the continent certainly existed. Carbonel had been building a very large boat secretly on the Río Santiago and it was thought that he planned to seek the strait, sail to France, and thus open to that country a passage to the Spanish possessions on the Pacific.

In 1640 Pedro Porter y Casanate presented a statement to the Spanish government concerning the advantages to Spain of a communication through California between the North and South Seas. He recited various voyages made in search of the strait and stated that after comparing most of the narratives, he found no bearing exact, no distance certain, no latitude established, no sounding dependable and no chart correct. These unfavorable comments upon the work of previous explorers are criticized by Navarrete, who thinks that they were made for the purpose of improving Porter's chances of being entrusted with an expedition himself. He was successful in this, but his expedition accomplished nothing.

In the early part of the 17th century Diego de Mercado, by birth a Fleming, but for a long time a resident of Guatemala, proposed to connect the oceans by a canal from Lake Nicaragua to the Gulf of Papagayo. Nothing came of this project, for while it was being examined and reports prepared concerning it, Mercado died.

Towards the end of the 17th century an act of the Scottish

Parliament was passed constituting the "Company of Scotland, Trading to Africa and the Indies." William Paterson, the chief projector of the Bank of England, was the moving spirit of this enterprise, which was popularly known as The Darien Company. An expedition was sent out from Leith in July, 1698. The opinion seems to prevail that the purpose of this company was to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by a canal in order to facilitate the trade of Great Britain with the Orient. I have been unable to find a single expression of that purpose; on the contrary the purpose seems to have been to establish a colony on the Atlantic, then in course of time to establish another on the Pacific and to connect these two great emporiums by an overland route.

"The time and expense," wrote Paterson, "of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands and the far greatest part of the East Indies will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus, this door of the seas, and the key to the universe, with anything of a sort of reasonable management, will of course enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood, of Alexander and Cæsar."

Two Franciscan friars who explored the solitudes of New Mexico in 1777 suggested the possibility of connecting the headwaters of the Colorado River, which flows into the Gulf of California, with the headwaters of the Río Grande, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico. While the sources of these rivers may not be many miles apart, a glance at the map will suffice to show the utter impossibility of realizing such a dream.

An idea with some possibility of fulfilment was the plan advanced by the Biscayan pilot Goyeneche, who proposed to connect the Bay of Cupica with one of the branches of the Atrato.

A great many other attempts were made to find the secret of the straits, besides those here related, but sufficient account has

been given of the continuous efforts made for several hundred years to find it.

From the Arctic Ocean to the Straits of Magellan no tempting stream that poured its waters into either ocean was neglected; no bay, no inlet failed to receive the careful examination of the explorer; no dream too wild but found its supporters — but all to no purpose. The fact remained that there was no open way from ocean to ocean, and *that* being established beyond doubt, former plans of a canal were revived and new ones advanced.

About one hundred years ago nine different locations for an inter-oceanic canal had been thought of, discussed, or examined, the number having been increased by five since the time of Gómara, two hundred and fifty years before. They are given by Humboldt in his *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* and copied in Thompson's translation of Alcedo's *Historical Dictionary* as follows:

1. By connecting the headwaters of the Columbia and Peace rivers in what is now the Dominion of Canada.
2. By connecting the headwaters of the Colorado River with the Río Grande.
3. By connecting the River Coatzacoalcos (Huasacualco) with the Gulf of Tehuantepec.
4. By way of the San Juan River to Lake Nicaragua, thence by cutting a canal to the Pacific Ocean.
5. By way of the Chagres River to Panama.
6. The project of the Biscayan pilot Goyeneche to connect the Bay of Cupica with the River Naipi, a branch of the Atrato.
7. The development of the Canal de la Raspadura, which connects the Atrato with the River San Juan.
8. The Gulf of St. George on the Atlantic side of Patagonia was supposed to enter so far into the interior of the country as to communicate with some arm of the sea entering from the west.

Humboldt spoke also of a ninth point at which there might be a communication between the two seas by way of the Grand Para River in Brazil, but went on to say that "the height of the Cordillera and the nature of the ground, render the execution of a canal impossible."

In a later work he reduced the number of possibilities to five, namely:

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec
The Isthmus of Nicaragua
The Isthmus of Panama
The Isthmus of Darien, or Cupica
The Canal of Raspadura,

all placed at the center of the New Continent at an equal distance from Cape Horn and the northwest coast.

In speaking of the Isthmus of Panama he quoted the assertion of a traveller that the hills that compose the central chain of the isthmus are separated from each other by valleys "which leave a free course to the passage of waters." Humboldt therefore concluded that the research of engineers charged to explore those countries should be principally directed to the discovery of the transversal valleys. It is of interest to note that he said "I shall abstain from discussing the question whether this ground should form a separate republic by the name of Junxtiana, dependent on the federation of the United States."

J. P. Eckermann, in his "Conversations with Goethe," writes that while at table on February 21, 1827, Goethe spoke a great deal about Alexander von Humboldt, whose book relating to Cuba and Colombia he had begun to read. He seemed especially interested in the project of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. "Humboldt" said Goethe "has indicated several other places, which, by using the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, could be of greater advantage for a canal than Panama. All this must be left for the future and for some great enterprising genius. This much however is certain, if a canal could be built which would permit the passage of ships of all sizes from ocean to ocean, the entire world, both civilized and uncivilized, would reap countless benefits. But it would surprise me if the United States would miss the opportunity of getting such a work into their own hands. The westward tendency of this young nation will in the course of thirty or forty years have established it beyond the Rockies. New trading centers will spring up in the safe and roomy harbors on the Pacific coast for developing commercial relations with China and the East Indies. In that event it will not only be desirable

but also necessary that both merchant vessels and men of war should have a quicker connection between the Atlantic and Pacific than is possible by a voyage around Cape Horn. I therefore repeat that it is absolutely necessary for the United States to build the inter-oceanic canal and I am sure that she will do so.

"I would like to live to see this, but I will not, though it would be worth while to bear life for fifty years longer for this purpose."

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Spanish colonies on the mainland of North and South America declared themselves free and became independent states. Early in their separate political existence they turned their attention to the construction of an inter-oceanic canal. All the available routes were within their territory, but it was recognized that they would be unable either to construct or protect a canal without the help of some more powerful nation or nations.

In 1880 President Hayes expressed the opinion that the coast line of the canal should be "considered a part of the coast-line of the United States" and that it should be under our control. Until that time the policy had been rather in favor of a canal open to the world upon condition of strict neutrality, and it is perhaps true that all other problems in regard to the canal would have been solved and its actual construction would have been completed long ago had it not been for difficulties and complications arising out of the questions of its status in international law.

Bolívar summoned a Congress of American Republics to meet at Panama in 1826, at which the question of the construction of a ship canal was to be one of the subjects of discussion. In his instructions to the U. S. Commissioners to that Congress concerning the diplomatic status of the canal, Mr. Clay said, "If the work should ever be executed so as to admit of the passage of sea vessels from ocean to ocean, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon the payment of a just compensation or reasonable tolls."

Owing to the delay in the appointment of the Commissioners they did not reach Panama until after the Congress had adjourned and it never again re-assembled.

In 1835 a resolution was adopted by the Senate of the United

States calling upon the President to open negotiations with the governments of other nations and especially those of Central America and New Granada for the protection of those who might undertake the construction of a canal across the Isthmus and for the purpose of securing forever the free and equal right of navigating such canal to all nations upon payment of reasonable tolls.

In 1839 the House of Representatives adopted a resolution requesting the President to consider the expediency of negotiating with other nations for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of effecting a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific by the construction of a ship canal and for the free and equal right of navigating it to all nations. Neither of these resolutions obtained any practical result, but that of the House of Representatives seems to be the first suggestion of the construction of an inter-oceanic canal by the American government.

In 1845–46 Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, while yet a political prisoner in France, secured a concession from the government of Nicaragua to organize a company for the construction of a canal by way of the San Juan River and the two lakes to Realejo, to be called "Le Canal Napoléon de Nicaragua." After his escape to London he published a pamphlet entitled *The Canal of Nicaragua or a Project for the Junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of a Canal.* In this he said: — "There exists in the New World a state as admirably situated as Constantinople, and we must say up to this time as uselessly occupied. We allude to the state of Nicaragua. As Constantinople is the centre of the ancient world, so is the town of Leon the centre of the new, and if the tongue of land which separates its two lakes from the Pacific Ocean were cut through, she would command by virtue of her central position the entire coast of North and South America. The state of Nicaragua can become, better than Constantinople, the necessary route of the great commerce of the world, and is destined to attain an extraordinary degree of prosperity and grandeur. France, England and Holland have a great commercial interest in the establishment of a communication between the two oceans, but England has, more than the other powers, a political interest in the execution of this

project. England will see with pleasure, Central America becoming a powerful and flourishing state, which will establish a balance of power by creating in Spanish America a new centre of active enterprise, powerful enough to give rise to a feeling of nationality, and to prevent, by backing Mexico, any further encroachments from the North."

Later developments in France, which made Louis Napoleon Emperor of the French, ended his activities in this connection for the time. It has never been known how far his schemes had progressed, but it has been reported that the necessary funds were assured and the arrangements for commencing the work were in progress, and that it was the English operations in Central America in connection with the Napoleonic scheme which aroused the indignation of this country and eventually led to the Clayton-Bulwer negotiations.

In December, 1846, a treaty between the United States and New Granada was signed at Bogotá and ratified by both governments two years later. One of its articles guaranteed to the United States that "the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may hereafter be constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States," for the transportation of all articles of lawful commerce upon the same terms as to the citizens of New Granada. In return the United States guaranteed to New Granada the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus and also "the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory." No notice of the termination of this treaty was ever given by either party thereto.

The acquisition of California and the discovery of gold there made the subject of inter-oceanic communication of greater importance than ever to the United States. Overland routes by the Isthmus of Panama and across the Isthmus of Nicaragua were opened to take care of the large emigration to the Pacific Coast.

This led to the construction of the Panama Railroad. A contract was entered into by a party of Americans with the Government of New Granada for the exclusive privilege of constructing it across the Isthmus of Panama, and two ports, one on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific, were to be free ports. A charter was

granted by the Legislature of the State of New York for the formation of a stock company under which one million dollars of stock was subscribed. The work was commenced in May 1850, and the last rail was laid at midnight on January 27, 1855, a locomotive passing from ocean to ocean on the following day. The construction account was not closed until January 1859, at which time the entire cost of the road was shown to have been $8,000,000, and it was doing a profitable business. An interesting report concerning the road states that in 1860 only one-fifteenth of its freighting business was due to the California trade, the remaining fourteen-fifteenths consisting mainly of shipments between the United States and England, and Central and South America. A few years after the ratification of the treaty between the United States and New Granada, under which this road was built, negotiations between England and the United States culminated in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. It was signed at Washington, April 19, 1850, and ratifications were exchanged on July 4th of the same year. Secretary Blaine, speaking of it in 1881, described it as "misunderstandingly entered into, imperfectly comprehended, contradictorily interpreted, and mutually vexatious." It owed its origin to the fear of English aggression and was hastened by Great Britain's occupation, under assumption of a protectorate, of the territory at the mouth of the San Juan River. The reports concerning the difficulties to be encountered in the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama had led to a more careful consideration of the Nicaragua Canal, of which the San Juan River formed the Atlantic entrance. Representatives of the United States negotiated treaties with Nicaragua and Honduras, which, although never ratified, were used in persuading England to sign the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The English government was informed that while the United States "aimed at no exclusive privilege for themselves, they could never consent to see so important a communication fall under the exclusive control of any other great commercial power."

Article VIII of the treaty provides that "the governments of the United States and Great Britain having not only desired, in entering into this convention, to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle; they hereby agree to extend

their protection, by treaty stipulations, to any other practical communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the inter-oceanic communications should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama."

Many insisted that by entering into this treaty the United States had abandoned the Monroe Doctrine, having yielded equal rights to a foreign country in regard to an American project. The treaty had hardly been ratified when misunderstandings arose concerning the construction to be placed on some of its stipulations, and several efforts were made towards its abrogation, but England remained tenacious of the acquired rights to a share in the protectorate over any canal that might be built. In 1860 President Buchanan in his annual message said: "The discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between the two governments, which at different periods of the discussion bore a threatening aspect, have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this government," again indicating by this declaration that the United States made no claim to the sole control of the inter-oceanic canal, but rather favored the policy of having other nations join with them in guaranteeing its neutrality.

A few words ought here be said concerning the "Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal" which was strongly urged upon England by Dr. Edward Cullen in 1851, after he had crossed the Isthmus several times between Caledonia Bay and the Gulf of San Miguel, a distance of thirty-nine miles. By utilizing the Savana River, he claimed that the cut to be made would cross a country presenting but a single ridge of low elevation and would not exceed twenty-five miles in length. He said that "The canal, to be on a scale of grandeur commensurate with its important uses, should be cut sufficiently deep to allow the tide of the Pacific to flow right through it across to the Atlantic; so that ships bound from the Pacific to the Atlantic would pass with the flood and those from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the ebb tide of the latter." The cost of building the canal was estimated at £7,000,000 and "The Atlantic and Pacific Junction Company" was formed, its capital being fixed at £15,000,000. Dr. Cullen stated that the

government of New Granada had conceded, by decree of Congress, Bogotá, June 1, 1852, the exclusive privilege of cutting a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien and had granted 200,000 acres of land, besides those necessary for the canal and its works, to himself and his associates. It was expected that in accordance with the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Great Britain and the United States would extend their joint protection to any company undertaking the construction of this canal. The Company was provisionally registered and was to be incorporated by royal charter or act of parliament, limiting the liability of the stockholders. The short account here given of Dr. Cullen's efforts in behalf of the Darien ship canal was obtained from a book published by him in London in 1853. Towards the end of that year the United States government sent Lieut. Isaac C. Strain to Caledonia Bay with a surveying party to examine the plan. He reported it impracticable, as he found mountains from 1000 to 3500 feet high in the way of the canal, and with this the project of Dr. Cullen was abandoned.

In 1858 Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, renewed his activities in connection with the canal project. A company was organized under his protection and an engineering party sent to Nicaragua after obtaining contracts both from Costa Rica and Nicaragua, but the enterprise collapsed for want of funds. Ten years later Napoleon again revived his project, but the outbreak of the Franco-German war ended further consideration of the matter.

After the close of the Civil War in the United States, our government again turned its attention to the inter-oceanic canal, and in 1866 the Senate passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of the Navy to furnish information concerning the various proposed lines for inter-oceanic canals and railroads. Rear-Admiral Davis in reply submitted a report giving the desired information and also set forth the insufficiency of available data. About the same time the United States began its efforts for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Mr. Seward, writing to the American representative in London, made this statement: — "At the time the treaty was concluded there was every prospect that work would not only soon be begun, but that it would be

carried to a successful conclusion. For reasons, however, which it is not necessary to specify, it never was even commenced, and at present there does not appear to be a likelihood of its being undertaken."

During President Grant's administration, thorough surveys were made of the various canal projects and considerable valuable information was obtained. Grant enunciated the doctrine of "an American canal under American control."

In 1879 a call was issued for a conference on the subject of an inter-oceanic canal at Paris, which resulted in the organization of a French construction company under the presidency of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The name of De Lesseps was considered a sufficient guarantee for the quick and successful construction of the canal and it stirred up considerable feeling in the United States. It was announced by President Hayes that "the policy of this country is a canal under American control." His successor, President Garfield, in his inaugural address expressed the same views, saying that it is "the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any inter-oceanic canal across the isthmus as will protect our national interests." The Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, advised the American representatives in Europe that this policy was "nothing more than the pronounced adherence of the United States to principles long since enunciated by the highest authority of the government." England however maintained her position of reliance upon the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and would consent to no modification.

About this time an entirely new idea was advanced by Captain James B. Eads, who had made a great reputation as an engineer by building a system of jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi River, deepening its entrance sufficiently for navigation. He proposed to build a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec which would carry the largest ships fully laden upon its cars from ocean to ocean. He secured a concession for its construction from the Mexican government but nothing ever came of it.

On February 1, 1881, the Universal Inter-oceanic Canal Company, which had been organized by De Lesseps, commenced its work. The Panama route had been decided upon and the plans for

a tide-level canal perfected. Its cost was estimated at $132,000,000. From the beginning extravagance and corruption reigned supreme. All kinds of merchandise, necessary and unnecessary, were purchased at enormous prices. Willis Fletcher Johnson, in his book, *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal,* says: "In one place I saw where there had been stored a huge consignment of snow-shovels, — thousands of them. In another place there had been received and stored some 15,000 kerosene torches, such as are used in torchlight processions. The manufacturers got rid of surplus, out-of-date and almost worthless stock, at top prices. The purchasing agents got large commissions." The same extravagance prevailed in the construction department. Writing in October, 1885, Wyse says that of the sixteen or seventeen millions of cubic metres excavated, but twelve millions were properly done upon the canal itself. Then there is an account of millions spent upon hospitals, stables, office buildings, roads, etc., which cost the stockholders three times as much as they did the builders. There could be but one result. After seven years, in 1888, the company had spent $400,000,000, not half of the work had been done, and the company was bankrupt.

On October 21, 1893, the New Panama Canal Company was organized. It expected to complete the canal by an additional expenditure of $180,000,000, and the work proceeded.

Meanwhile the United States had kept a jealous eye upon the proceedings at Panama. During President Arthur's administration, Secretary Frelinghuysen had negotiated a treaty with Nicaragua for the construction of a canal through her territory. This treaty was still before the Senate when President Cleveland came into office and withdrew it. In his message to Congress on December 8, 1885, he said: "Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two great maritime areas of the world, must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power, nor become a point of invitation for hostilities or a prize for war-like ambition." This was a distinct reaffirmation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which his predecessors had endeavored to abrogate.

In 1890 the Maritime Canal Company, an American corporation,

began work at Greytown. After three years they had spent their entire capital of $6,000,000, and owing to the panic of 1893 in the United States, no further money could be raised for it, in spite of the fact that the Nicaragua route seems always to have been the popular one in this country. An effort was made to have the United States government take up the project, and the matter was still pending when war broke out between Spain and the United States in 1898. Then came the spectacular voyage of the *Oregon* from San Francisco to the West Indies. An inter-oceanic canal had now become a public demand and the United States must build it. In 1899 the President was authorized to send a commission to investigate both the Panama and Nicaragua routes. This commission made its report in December 1900, stating that while the cost of the canal at Panama would be less, the Colombian government "is not free to grant the necessary rights to the United States, except upon condition that an agreement be reached with the New Panama Canal Company. The commission believes that such agreement is impracticable." The report further stated that in its opinion "the most practicable and feasible route for an isthmian canal to be under the control, management and ownership of the United States is that known as the Nicaragua route."

Hardly had this report been made, when the commission began its negotiations with the French Company at Panama, which had estimated the value of its property at $109,000,000, while the commission thought that the United States should not pay more than $40,000,000 for it. The French Company finally offered its property at that price in January 1902, and the commission promptly reversed its recommendation and urged the adoption of the Panama route.

Happily also the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which was ratified by the United States Senate on December 16, 1901, thus ending a long controversy. It granted to the United States the right to construct the canal and also "the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal."

In June, 1902, the so-called Spooner Bill was approved, and President Roosevelt was authorized to purchase the rights of the

French Company and to proceed with the work at Panama, under certain conditions to be granted by Colombia. Should he be unable to obtain the control and the rights desired from Colombia, he was authorized after negotiating treaties with Costa Rica and Nicaragua upon terms that he might consider reasonable, for the construction, perpetual maintenance, operation and protection of a canal," to proceed with the construction of the Nicaragua Canal.

Then came the vexatious negotiations with Colombia, which finally resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Panama, with which the United States proceeded to make satisfactory treaties concerning the canal.

The story of its construction must be an interesting one, but it is entirely separate and apart from its historical development, which I have endeavored to present to you. We are here to-day to celebrate its completion, and it will be one of the most interesting studies of the years to come to watch its effect upon the trade of the entire world. What will be the effect of the closer relations of Europe with the lands of the Pacific, and what effect will they in turn have upon Europe? We can only hope that the same general benefit to mankind which has always resulted from bringing together more closely the peoples of the world, will also prove true in this instance, where they have been brought closer together by the Panama Canal.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Panama Pacific Historical Congress: When the idea of this Congress was first started, it was speedily agreed upon by the members having charge of the programme, that there should be a series of papers on the history of the Pacific Ocean, culminating in a paper upon the history of the Panama Canal Idea. That paper, as written by Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, you have just heard, and that paper will be published in the memorial volume of this historical Congress; but it is to me the culminating point of this Congress that I should be able to call upon, in succession to the reader of the paper on the "Historical Sketch of the Canal Idea," the man who removed it from the realm of ideas.

I present to you Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, a former president of the American Historical Association.

THE PANAMA CANAL

Theodore Roosevelt

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As an ex-president of the American Historical Association, I am very glad to come before you and tell you, as an ex-president of the United States, just exactly what was done, what I did in connection with removing the canal from the realm of purely nebulous ideas, and reducing it to actual fact. And inasmuch as it has been said that history is past romance, and romance is present history, it is fitting that I should continue the account given to you by Mr. Taussig, up to the point of the negotiation of the termination of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, by telling you just what happened during the next few months that made those few months wholly different from any preceding series of months during the period when the canal had been under discussion. And in order that you should understand, and that the people of the United States should understand the exact facts, I wish you to realize that I never, as President, or as candidate for President, said anything that I did not intend to and did not try to reduce to action as quickly after saying it as was possible. I regard mere oratory, mere eloquence, mere literary skill, as a curse and not a benefit to a democracy, unless it is made either as a species of action or an incitement to action, or unless it is translated into action. There is nothing that will tend more surely to degeneration of the soul, whether of men or of the Nation, than the habit of using words without reference to turning them into deeds, and when, as President, I have said anything, to my own people or to a foreign people, big or little, I meant it, and the other party knew I meant it.

Now, when I became President, every one had announced that the time had come to build the Isthmian Canal. I announced that

myself, and I meant it. I did not mean by that that I intended to talk about it or to permit others to talk about it, excepting in so far as the talk was an indispensable preliminary to the speedy construction of the canal.

There had been a Pan-American meeting, at which all of the Republics, or practically all of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere were represented, at which meeting all of the representatives of the Republics, including Colombia's representative, had voted, first, that the Isthmian Canal must be built as speedily as possible; and, second, that the United States was to build it. Our people, through their official representatives, had announced that it was the intention of this government to build the canal.

Now, if our people did not wish the canal built, then they had no business to say that it ought to be built; and above all, if they did not wish the means necessary for building it to be adopted, then they had no business to ask for the end that could only be accomplished by those means. There are few meaner forms of wrong-doing than to demand that something be done, which can only be done in a certain way, and then to complain because it is done in that way; and in any event it is a mistake for any person privately, or for all persons publicly, to hire me to do anything unless they want it done.

Mr. Taussig, if you will permit me to say so, has omitted one fact in connection with the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, by the adoption of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. I did not understand you (turning to Mr. R. J. Taussig) to speak of the first draft of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. I was at the time Governor of the State of New York. I was very fond of John Hay, who was then Secretary of State. The first draft of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty did not vest full power in the United States over the canal. The first draft of the treaty provided, in effect, that the canal should be under the joint control, not only of the United States and Great Britain, but also of France and Germany. Imagine! Imagine the pleasure of administering a canal under such a combination during the past year; and yet all of the pacificists, all the peace-at-any-price people, all of the "old women" of both sexes prattled and screamed in favor of our adopting such a policy, apparently on the ground that, as it was going to be bad for ourselves

it might be good for somebody else. I, as Governor, issued a statement, saying that I earnestly hoped that treaty would be defeated. That proposed treaty denied our right to fortify the canal. I issued a statement saying that I earnestly hoped the treaty would be defeated, unless it were amended so that we would have a right to fortify the canal which we built, and the sole right of dominion over it, and of defence of it. That treaty was defeated.

The treaty that was adopted shortly after I became President contained the two provisions for which I had asked in that statement. We were given the right to fortify the canal; in the treaty itself it was made our duty to police and protect the canal, and by an interchange of notes immediately afterwards, the construction was explicitly put upon the treaty that we were at liberty to fortify it, and England and France and Germany were all eliminated from the control of the canal, and that is why the canal has been at peace during the past year.

At the same time, as Mr. Taussig has set forth, Congress provided that we should build the Panama Canal, if we could purchase the French rights for forty million dollars; that otherwise we should build the Nicaragua Canal. Now, it was immensely in the interest of Nicaragua and of the power owning the Isthmus of Panama — it was in the interest of all — that the canal should be built in its territory, and each was very anxious that we should go through its territory. Colombia negotiated, on its own initiative, with us a treaty in which it set the price that we should give for the canal rights at ten million dollars; negotiating that treaty so as to persuade us not to negotiate a treaty with Nicaragua. When we concluded that treaty with Colombia it must be remembered that the treaty had been entered into for a valuable consideration given Colombia, namely, the consideration of our abandoning the Nicaragua route. It was because of Colombia's willingness to give the canal rights to us for ten million dollars, and with the explicit understanding that no more than that amount would be permitted, that we abandoned the Nicaragua route, conducted our negotiations in their final stages with the French Company and took up the Panama route.

At that time Colombia was under a dictatorship, and it is essential that you should remember just what the government of Colom-

bia was, and what it did, in forming an estimate of what I did in connection with building the canal. The President of Colombia was a gentleman named Maroquín. He had not been elected president; he was elected vice-president. He inherited the presidency by putting the president in jail. He executed a *coup d'état*, and took possession of the president; he first put him in a wooden cage on an ox-wagon and shipped him to jail. He was a strict constitutionalist! He issued a proclamation, calling attention to the provision of the Colombian Constitution which decreed that in the absence of the president the vice-president should perform all the executive functions. He pointed out that the president was absent, and he began to perform all the executive functions.

About a year or so later the president, opportunely, died in prison. His absence thereby became permanent, and the vice-president, Mr. Maroquín, continued to exercise all of the executive functions. Meanwhile he had prorogued congress. He did not let congress come together for five years, and, in a proclamation, he called attention to that provision of the Constitution of Colombia which stated that in the absence of congress, the acting president performed all legislative functions; and, in consequence, he in his own person embodied all the legislative and all the executive functions of the state.

I may mention, ladies and gentlemen, that on the platform with me is my then Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Loomis, who was Assistant Secretary of State under John Hay, and who knew, more intimately than any man except myself, the details of what went on in connection with the acquisition of the Panama route, and the work of starting the building of the Panama Canal; and, if my memory is in error at any point, I shall ask Mr. Loomis to correct me.

The Colombian government then, at the time this treaty was negotiated, was embodied in the person of Mr. Maroquín; the president was dead, and the congress never met. Mr. Maroquín had complete power; there was no question of the ratification of the treaty; the power that made it was the power that could ratify it — that is, if he chose — and we entered into the treaty on that distinct understanding.

Another point to which I wish to call your attention. The

French Company had something of value to sell. We drove, as was our duty, a hard bargain with them. I did not feel at liberty to pay, on behalf of the United States, any more than they insisted upon receiving for their property, and I could not have paid any more in any event, because Congress set the limit beyond which I could not go. They gave us for that forty million an equivalent, so that the French Company gave us something for what we paid. But, as regards Colombia, the entire value of what they had was created by our action. If we had gone to Nicaragua the Canal Zone would not have been worth ten dollars, let alone ten million dollars. We acquired from Colombia the right to spend three hundred million dollars in digging the canal. We acquired nothing but the right to spend that three hundred million. From the French company we acquired, for forty million dollars, I think I may safely say, fifty, sixty, or seventy million dollars' worth of improvements, of work done, and also a little machinery. From Colombia we acquired only the right to spend our own money and do our own labor, and not a particle of value inhered in the Zone, except the value that we were to give it by spending our money and our labor upon it. It was of vital importance to Panama that the canal should be built. It quadrupled, quintupled, multiplied many times over the value of the Isthmus to the people as a whole, and to each individual thereof.

As soon as the Colombian government, that is, as soon as Maroquín thought we were bound, thought that we had definitely committed ourselves to the Panama route and to the French Company, thought that we had definitely abandoned the Nicaragua route, — as soon as that was done Maroquín turned and declined to fulfill his engagement with us, and he suddenly betrayed scruples of conscience about the Constitution. He said the Constitution prohibited the action he was about to take, and he summoned the congress — which had not been summoned for five years — to help him make up his mind about the Constitution. Congress met. Our Minister, a most able and faithful public servant, Mr. Beaupré, was instructed by John Hay, in message after message — which I think, Mr. Loomis, you personally wrote — he was instructed by the Secretary of State to notify Colombia that it would be a grave thing if they failed to carry out the agreement;

that we expected them to carry out that agreement. The trouble was that, as happens now and then, the dominant politicians in Colombia completely misestimated their power and the power of outside nations. A few years before, they had given, or Maroquín had given, to the French Company an extension of time in which to do this work before it became subject to forfeiture. This extended for a period of about ten years, the time in which the French Company had to do its work. Without that extension the time limit would have expired in 1904, and the negotiations which it was carrying on with me, with the government at Washington, were taking place. In 1903 Mr. Maroquín suddenly became afflicted with conscientious scruples, not only as regards us, but as regards the French Company, and the Colombian congress declared that it had been unconstitutional to grant the increase of time to the French Company; that that grant was null, and that next year they would take possession of the French Company's belongings on the Isthmus.

Mr. Beaupré notified the State Department — the file is in the State Department now — that the agent of the French Company at Bogotá had come to him, the American Minister, Beaupré, and told him that the Colombian authorities had notified him that their constitutional scruples about the passage of the treaty could only be overcome by the payment of ten million dollars from the French Company to them (the despatches are on file in the State department and have been); that they notified the agent of the French Company, that unless ten million of the forty million that the United States were to pay the French Company were paid over to the government at Bogotá, the treaty would not be ratified; the extension of time of the French Company would be cancelled, and the Colombian government would next year, in 1904, take possession of the belongings of the French Company on the Isthmus. Of course, France would not have permitted that to be done, and if I had permitted it to be done I would have found myself the following year faced with the fact that one of the great military nations of the old world, France, was in actual possession of the zone through which the Panama Canal was to be dug; I should have had France on the Isthmus instead of Colombia. I had not the slightest intention of submitting to any such blackmailing

scheme, to any such species of highway robbery. I regarded the action of the Colombian government — that is of Mr. Maroquín and his subordinates — I do not say associates, because they were not associates; they were his subordinates — and his subordinates as being equivalent to pure highway robbery, and I did not intend for one moment to submit to it. I never had any doubt about the question. The only doubt in my mind was as to the particular manner in which I should make it evident that there was not to be any submission on my part. I intended to have that canal dug. I intended to treat with the greatest generosity those through whose territory the canal was to run; I intended to do justice to them, and to exact justice from them.

We had previously, many years previously, entered into a treaty with the power owning and governing the Isthmus, under which we had covenanted to keep the strip of territory across the Isthmus clear for purposes of commerce, and to protect it from any assault from without. That agreement had not been made with the Republic of Colombia. It had been made with a predecessor of Colombia — the nations were somewhat evanescent in that neighborhood — with a predecessor of Colombia, named New Granada. The government had shifted again and again in the interval between the making of the treaty of which I have spoken and the crisis in 1903. At one time Panama itself had been an independent republic; then it had joined New Granada, afterwards Colombia, as a state, reserving to itself in the Articles of Confederation the right of secession. Then it had been seized by Colombia and held without regard to the Articles in the treaty under which it had joined. Our view was, and had consistently been, as John Hay phrased it, that the covenant ran with the land, that we were not concerned with the title by which the power in control of the Isthmus called itself; we were not concerned whether it was New Granada or Colombia or Panama; that our concern was with the fact and not the name. It had also been explicitly set forth by various secretaries of state, including, for example, Secretary Silas Wright and Secretary William H. Seward, that we guaranteed the protection of the canal, not against domestic revolution, but against aggression by outside powers. And, furthermore, it had been explicitly stated by the State Department,

not once, but again and again, that we would not permit the power in possession of the Isthmus, whatever it might be, to bar the nations of mankind from the use of the Isthmus as a highway. That has been expressly stated by our people. Those were the words we had used. I accepted them as meaning something, and reduced them to action. The government with which we had to deal on the Isthmus had never been a government such as we are accustomed to associate with civilized and settled peoples. In the fifty-three years preceding the crisis of 1903 there had been on the Isthmus exactly fifty-three revolutions, successful or unsuccessful. On a dozen different occasions we had had to land troops to protect the Isthmus to prevent the stoppage of traffic across it. A couple of years before I took action we had done one thing on the Isthmus which shows the exceedingly qualified type of sovereignty which Colombia enjoyed. One of the annual revolutions was in progress and Colombia wished to send troops across the Isthmus on the railroad. Having had some experience with Colombian armies, the railroad authorities did not wish to transport the troops so long as they were armed. They appealed to our naval representatives — we had one or two ships in the harbor — and the naval commander arranged matters by sending the soldiers without arms in one train under the guard of some American blue jackets, and the arms in another train, also under the guard of some American blue jackets.

Now, I had done my best to make an agreement with Colombia. I might anticipate a little, just to show you the real worth of these constitutional scruples of Mr. Maroquín. Remember, he had announced that it was his devotion to the Constitution that made him determine he would have to go back on his word to the French Company and take possession of the company's property, and go back on his word to us and refuse to ratify the treaty. The minute that Panama declared itself independent and I acted as I shall tell you in a few minutes I did act, he sent General Reyes to John Hay — Reyes afterwards became President of Colombia — to tell him, so that he could lay it before me, that if I would give back Panama to them — that is, betray the people of the Isthmus, who had stood by us and confided in our faith — that if I would do that, he would at once provide for the ratification of the treaty,

either by summoning congress, which he would guarantee me in advance would ratify the treaty, or, if that was not satisfactory to me, by ratifying the treaty in accordance with his constitutional powers, as exercising all executive and legislative functions when congress was not present. (Mr. Loomis, I think you will remember that communication. It is down in writing; it is on file in the State Department.)

Now, I had to decide whether that "hold up" scheme should be successful, or whether it should not be successful; I had to decide whether the honor and interest of the United States did or did not require me to permit the government of my country to be "held up" and the French Company to be blackmailed; and I decided that it did not. As I say, I had exhausted every honorable expedient in trying to get Colombia to come to an agreement with me, an agreement with my government, which could be carried out. I could not do it, for the simple reason that you cannot nail currant jelly to a wall. The trouble is not in the nail; it is in the currant jelly. All of the time the Isthmus was seething with revolution. On the "consent of the governed" theory, Panama was entitled to govern itself. The people of the Isthmus, the people of the Republic of Panama, were being oppressed by an alien people, who misgoverned them, for the interest of outsiders, and who were now jeopardizing their entire future for corrupt purposes. It has been said that I raised my hand and caused revolution. The simile is inexact. There were a dozen fuses always burning and leading up to revolutionary explosions in Panama. I came to the conclusion that I was absolved from all further duty to stamp out those fuses. The government of the United States, — and here, again, Mr. Loomis is on the stage with me, and he knows it more intimately than any other man, living or dead, except myself, — the government of the United States never took the smallest part, directly or indirectly, in fomenting or encouraging any revolutionary movement in Panama. Any statement to the contrary is a wicked and slanderous falsehood, to support which there is not merely no proof, but not a particle of just suspicion can be adduced in support of any such thing. I knew that there were revolutionary movements on the Isthmus. My knowledge was gained, in the first place, by reading the daily press. In the newspapers — I

recall particularly the *New York Herald* and the *Washington Post*, but there were other newspapers, — in the newspapers for a couple of months prior to the actual revolution there were at least a dozen despatches from the Isthmus about revolutionary movements that were supposed to be on the point of breaking out. For some reason or other, the newspapers afterwards gained the idea that a New York gentleman, Mr. Nelson Cromwell, had incited those revolutions, or some of those revolutions. I think that Mr. Cromwell — I may do him an injustice — was immensely flattered by this suspicion. So far as I know, he had no particle of knowledge of the revolutionary movement that resulted in the overthrow of the Colombian government on the Isthmus. He was on the ocean going to France when it occurred, that I know. I know that he had nothing whatever to do with the revolution that took place. I believe that he did not have anything to do with any movement that would have made a real revolution on the Isthmus. I think he will resent the statement that he did. That is my belief. My special knowledge was gained from the report of two army officers. We had not sent them to the Isthmus; they had been sent down to Venezuela to make a report on certain matters in connection with Venezuela, where there was also the annual trouble brewing. On their way back they stopped at Panama and when they returned to Washington they reported to the Lieutenant-General of the Army, Sam Young, who at once notified me that they had returned, with information he thought they ought to lay before me, and I saw them. They told me that they had been on the Isthmus, and that not only were the inhabitants of the Isthmus a unit, but that the Colombian regiment in garrison, which had not been paid for about a year, was a unit in being determined to have a revolution if the treaty was not ratified, and that they believed that the revolution would break out almost immediately after the adjournment of the Colombian congress, without the ratification of the treaty. That would have made the revolution take place about the first week of November. The two officers told me it would not take place before that date, because the revolutionists were waiting for a consignment of arms from New York. Mind you, all of these facts have been detailed in full in my messages to Congress; in a book I since wrote; in articles I have written —

every fact connected with this whole business has been published from the very beginning.

Every now and then during the past six years I have had some well-meaning but timid friend come to me, with his hair standing up, to tell me that some political opponent or some newspaper — I think the *New York World* was one that was mentioned — that some newspaper correspondent, or some political opponent, had found evidence of damning facts about the "complicity" of the United States, and the "misconduct" of the United States, in connection with the Panama revolution, and asked me what I was going to do about it; and I would answer that I was going to do nothing about it, for the excellent reason that they could not find out anything, because there was not anything to find out. When, during my term of service, Congress asked me for the documents in the case, all of the documents, I sent them down. I think they filled about a cart; I forget the precise amount, but it was about a half a ton, I think, of documents that we sent down, and I could wish my worst enemy no more evil fate than to be obliged to read them.

As soon as these two officers had made to me the report that they did make, I at once ordered warships to the Isthmus to protect persons and property there. In doing that I was following the precedent set by every President who had preceded me in office. There was not a President (excepting, I think, Mr. Garfield, who was only in office six or eight months), whose presidency covered a term of years, who had not been obliged to send warships to the Isthmus to protect traffic across the Isthmus and to protect the persons and property of American citizens. In this particular case the ships came almost too late. The first gunboat arrived just after the Colombian regiment had landed at Colón, and the commander of the regiment had threatened to massacre the men, women and children, citizens of the United States and other foreigners, in Colón.

Then again, the fact is set forth in the official report of the captain of the gunboat. It was the *Nashville;* I think Hubbard was the name of the officer in command of the vessel. He landed a guard of some forty marines, who formed a cordon around the women and children in the houses of the police, and prevented any mas-

sacre; protecting not only the American women and children but the women and children of other foreign countries. I was President, and the American women and children who were in danger were protected by our own ships, and not by the ships of any other power. The firm attitude of the captain of the *Nashville* overawed the Colombian troops. That saved the lives of all of the women and children, and by good-natured diplomacy he persuaded the Colombian commander to reëmbark with his regiment.

Meanwhile, the revolution broke out, with great enthusiasm, on the Isthmus. Nobody opposed it. No blood was shed whatever, excepting that a Colombian gunboat came up on the Pacific side, bombarded Panama, and killed a disinterested Chinaman who was looking on at the revolution.

Now, that is literally what happened. It sounds, in its later phases, like a Gilbert and Sullivan opera. But I have told you exactly what occurred. Not a shot was fired by a single American sailor or marine (none of the army were down there), and of the shots fired by the Colombians none hit anybody except the poor Chinaman. The Panamanians did not fire any more. Nobody was hurt with the exception that I have mentioned.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I had two courses that I could have pursued when I was confronted by that state of facts. I have set them before you. You can turn back to the messages of the President, or the Secretary of State of December, 1903, and January and subsequent months in 1904, and you will find them therein set forth. You will find them set forth in my autobiography, and in an article I wrote last January in the *Metropolitan;* and not one fact that I have mentioned can be, or ever has been, even questioned. And not one fact of the slightest importance, excepting those I have recited to you, has ever been divulged, or ever will be divulged, because there is not any other fact to be divulged.

I could have met that situation in two ways. Ever since Balboa had discovered the Isthmus, nearly four centuries before, people had talked about building a canal across it. There had been four centuries of conversation on the subject. I could have inaugurated another half century of conversation; I could have sent a "masterly message" to Congress, and Congress could then have held a series of able debates on the "masterly message," in which case those

debates would now be intermittently continuing, and the canal would be in the dim future, without a spadeful of earth having been dug, and you would not have had your Exposition here at this moment. If the United States was right in its action, then it is an infamy to pay twenty-five million dollars, or any other sum to Colombia; and if the United States was not right in its action, it is an infamy to be on the canal, or to hold this Exposition here, because the canal has been filched.

Now, we have those two alternatives; either we did wrong or we did right. If we did wrong, then it is an infamy to hold an exposition to celebrate the acquisition of stolen goods, and the payment of twenty-five million dollars is wholly inadequate. If we did wrong, we have no business on the Isthmus, and you have no business to hold an exposition; but, as we did right — not *if*, but *as we did right* — it is an infamy to be blackmailed by the demands of bandits who failed to hold up "Uncle Sam."

In the long run the "sissy" and the "mollycoddle" are as undesirable members of society as the crook and the bully. I don't like the crook and the bully. Don't misunderstand me; I will abate both of them when I get the chance at them. But, after all, there is the possibility that you can reform the crook or the bully, but you cannot reform the "sissy" or the "mollycoddle," because there is not anything there to reform. With a nation, as with an individual, weakness, cowardice, and flabby failure to insist upon what is right, even if a certain risk comes in insisting, may be as detrimental, not only from the standpoint of the individual or the nation, but from the standpoint of humanity at large, as wickedness itself.

If, at the crisis, at the time when it was for me to decide whether the Panama Canal should be built, or whether the chance of digging it should be deferred for a half century longer, — if at that crisis the government, of which I happened then to be head, had shown weakness, it would have been exactly as much a betrayal of the rights of the United States and of the rights of Americans as if the government had been guilty of wickedness. It does not help you in the least to have avoided Scylla if you run into Charybdis. It is the duty of every man in public life, as I see it, who has to deal with the honor of his nation, to deal with it as he would with

his own honor. He is not to be excused if, through an action not done, wrong is done to weaker nations, or any other nation. Neither is he to be excused if, because of his action or inaction, wrong comes to his own nation. The man in public life who does his full duty in international affairs is bound to see that his nation bears itself towards other nations as we expect an honorable man to bear himself in dealing with his fellows; that he shall play the part neither of a bully nor of a coward; that he shall act as the just man, who scorns to wrong others, and who is able by his own strength and courage to prevent others from wronging him.

There is not one action of the American government, in connection with foreign affairs, from the day when the Constitution was adopted down to the present time, so important as the action taken by this government in connection with the acquisition and building of the Panama Canal. I am here to-night to speak to you, and I have come to see this Exposition, because I know that in the course of that action every step taken was a step not only demanded by the honor and the interest of my country, but one taken with scrupulous regard to the nicest laws of international morality, and fair and upright dealing.

PAPERS READ AT THE SPECIAL SESSIONS

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AND THEIR HISTORY AS A PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN AREA

OPENING ADDRESS

León María Guerrero

Ladies and Gentlemen:

An unmerited preference obliges me to take this seat of honor for the purpose of presiding over one of the sessions of the Historical Congress at this universal exposition in San Francisco, wherein is found united, in an eloquent manifestation, all that has been accomplished by intelligence, urged by an ever-growing eagerness to inquire into the unknown, to find the solution of the mysteries which still obscure the restricted horizon of our knowledge.

The Historical Congress convoked represents a further step forward in the investigation of the past social history of humanity. It is an advance, even if only provisional, in the vast field of facts constituting the teachings that are to guide future societies in their uncertain march along the road of true civilization, justice, and morality.

Someone has said that history serves only the purpose to teach us to know men, and not to teach us to know man in the concrete. Reasons he must have had so to express himself at the time when, perhaps, the study of history had not reached its present scientific level. Initiated in a sphere of limited extent in which tradition was the only source of knowledge, the history of the past furnished us only with elements of that other science called sociology, that threatens to disappear, so it is said, on account of the inanity of its conclusions, at times based upon syntheses that are but the results of an overwrought imagination.

Were history reduced simply to the narration of the acts of men connected with an epoch of the life of a people, its teachings would be of little value for the improvement of the species in general. This is well known to all men who have meditated somewhat upon the variability of facts. True history penetrates further into events and seizes the essence thereof, in order to present

it in a condensed form after analyzing the causes that have determined the facts.

This work of the historian is the most liable to great errors and immoralities, whenever he allows himself to be guided solely by his own impressions, and by the criterion he may have formed to judge the dead facts which scarcely appear in the flesh of reality out of indecisions brought forth by the disorderly succession of events, changing the logical order of the pretended periodicity of certain social phenomena.

Who is it that does not know the partiality of certain historians who, notwithstanding the lucidity in which facts appear, do not hesitate to exaggerate or to belittle them, bulking that which in itself is insignificant, or diminishing that which from every point of view is of culminating transcendency? This procedure was to a certain extent the natural product of the social ambient during past periods of the life of humanity; however, it does not fail to recur now from time to time, leaving traces of its unwholesome influence upon the minds of the multitude, which does not stop to delve into the facts in order to reach the nucleus of truth that lies at the bottom of them all. Thus, if the ancient pages of the chronicles and so-called histories of the Philippines, written at a time when the manifestations of thought had forcibly to be modeled upon the political and religious standards then imposed by the former sovereign country, are examined, the insincerity of their authors in dealing with some matters leaps to the eye, as does their manifest partiality in passing judgment upon some event, or upon some individual who had failed to satisfy, by strangling his conscience, certain cliques whose only thought was the prosperity of their material interests, disregarding or intentionally subordinating the other interests that dignify humanity. The historian has need of a moral temper steeled to dominate his own passions and proclivities, when he persists in heeding the internal voice impelling him to where his temperament drags him.

History is a bundle of facts greatly varied, which may with equal force influence in a bad direction as in a good one, advantageous to the education of the people. Thus, history at times is converted into an instrument of confusion for those who attempt to avail themselves of it as a guide in an intricate labyrinth of contradic-

tory judgments, who cannot find their way out it, in order to ascertain the good or bad side of the hero who is exalted by some, and vituperated by others; or to find the cause justifying the glorification of a rascal by the accommodating compoundings of an unscrupulous historian. The immorality flowing from all this is incalculable.

The generality of people end by being misled in their judgments, and adopt as a standard of social conduct precisely that which should be repelled as contrary to the constructive tendencies of society. Our own generation views with astonishment the unlooked for exaltation of certain individuals who deserve rather the scorn, if not the execration, of their contemporaries, than the aureola of celebrity in which they are now contemplated. And it is all because the historian condescends to exalt him who should be trampled into the mud, and is unjust to him, who, despising every penalty and sacrifice, has been able to secure for his people all the good suggested to him by the conscience of an honorable citizen.

In this way, history infects souls with germs of corruption, by habituating them to false judgments and to pliant estimations ending in a sterilizing scepticism; the moral mission of history consists in presenting to us man as he is, as he influences as a decisive factor the destinies of his people, without artificial deformities, and without dwindling the merits which make him worthy of the love of posterity, nor adorning him with ridiculous tinsel, if his conduct is unworthy to be presented in the annals of a community by making a giant out of pygmy, by the process of piling upon him fantastic virtues and qualifications.

History will, with time, be plucked of what still remains to it, of a simple heap of facts of difficult coördination, and of a tiresome list of men, in whom there can scarcely be divined any meaning worthy of the scrutiny of the thinker, to be converted into a synopsis of the dynamics of the human race, relegating individuals to a second place, to be considered only according to the reach that their social activities may have had in the development of a group desirous of its improvement. Thus will history be transformed into a moralizing instrument by giving space in its pages to the useful residuum of the facts, and to the true spirit of the men.

who have accomplished them, with various designs, in obedience to circumstancial instigations.

Can all that has occurred to me on this occasion as regards the demoralizing influence that history exercises on the masses when it does not embody sincerity and justice, be applied to those first men who attempted to compile the facts and to pass judgment on the men in relation thereto in the Philippines? I have hereinbefore pointed out something in relation to this and to the causes which compelled the narrations to be presented in a veiled form, on occasion, and in an almost distorted manner, at other times. If this is so, cannot the investigator of the day do without those documents of the past? No, for they are the only relics which remain to us in order to be able to understand the gradual development of those Islands, and to explain certain features of a social state which still prevails. It may be said that with only such means, historical investigation would be deprived of any certain basis for a conclusion; but certain facts remain which, though distorted, reveal that intimate essence always perceptible to him who knows how to clear away that which obscures, in any field that encloses something of interest.

The theme which falls to the lot of this section of the Congress is not so easy and plain, for in order to determine historically the area of relations sustained amongst the nations, who from the remotest time have ploughed the Pacific Ocean seeking commercial transactions, basing their actions solely on reports too abstract at times, and too vague almost always, is not an easy task, and, consequently, is one reserved to those privileged talents that are expert in discovering an indication which serves to reconstruct all of the past obscured by the bulk made by contradictory reports.

So far as the Philippines are concerned, their relations with Mexico were set up on the coast bathed by the Pacific, at a time when the conquest of the Malay country was scarcely consolidated; for it was in 1527, when, for the first time, an expedition left Mexico for the Philippines, with the purpose of satisfying the wishes of the King of Spain to conquer the Moluccas. Thenceforward, it may be said, Spanish ships continued regularly to cross the mighty ocean that lies between the Philippine Archipelago and the Port of Acapulco.

I do not desire to continue with this subject, which is not a matter to be dealt with in a few paragraphs, for my only object is to initiate the task of the Congress that, I doubt not, will bring forth its fruit at a not distant day, inasmuch as on this occasion there are congregated the specialists of the science of history, which, fortunately, has already entered on the way of methods and procedures more congruous to the end sought, — which is, to make of history the expression of all the activities of human life.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF, AND IDEAS OF LAW AMONG, EARLY PHILIPPINE PEOPLES; AND A RECENTLY DISCOVERED PREHISPANIC CRIMINAL CODE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

James A. Robertson

The code which is given below, and which is really the excuse for this paper, forms part of a manuscript written during the years 1837 and 1838 by a Spanish friar, José María Pavón, who was stationed for some years in the town of Himamaylan in the province of Occidental Negros. Pavón's manuscript, which will be published entire in the near future, is entitled "The ancient legends of the Island of Negros, in which are related the peculiarities and superstitions of the Indios of this Island of Negros, according to my experience, and as they have been told me, and as I have seen them." It was sent to the Philippine Library at Manila by Mr. José E. Marco, whose zeal and enthusiasm in the preservation of historical materials relating to the Philippine Islands is most commendable, and alas, only too rare.

The entire manuscript will prove of great value to students of Philippine history. With its numerous references to the period antedating the Spanish discovery of the Philippines in 1521, it will be found to aid in the reconstruction of what has fittingly been termed the "prehistoric epoch" of those islands. The code, which occupies pages 52–63 of Pavón's first volume, is the only early written codification of laws which has so far come to light in the Philippines. The Moro codes reproduced by Saleeby in his excellent *Moro History and Law* (Manila, 1905) date from no farther back than the eighteenth century (according to the earliest time that can be assigned for their compilation) and, besides being written in the Arabic characters, show considerable Arabic and

Mohammedan influence. Pavón's code dates from before the middle of the fifteenth century, and was translated for him into Spanish from the original Bisayan manuscript. Its authenticity can scarcely be questioned, for it is a well-known fact that the ancestors of the present Filipinos had their own system of writing long before the Spanish discovery, and that their culture had advanced into the highest stage of barbarism or (and more probably) the lower stages of civilization, possibly partly through contact with the Chinese, with whom they had carried on an intermittent trade for centuries, and partly, perhaps, through contact with the peoples of Asia to the west of China. Their state of culture seems certainly to have been in advance of that of the present Mangians of Mindoro and the Tagbanwas of Paláwan, both of whom have their own systems of writing which closely resemble that of the ancient Filipinos. The authenticity of Pavón's code is still further attested by the fact that much of his material checks up with the known data from other sources, while the Philippine Library actually possesses three old manuscripts written in the Bisayan characters on the old materials — the only ones which have come to light during the American administration of the Philippines — which it is strongly suspected were used by Pavón.

The early missionaries to the Philippines, as those in Mexico, were prone to regard the ancient writings equally with the objects used in such worship as was practised by the native peoples as works of the evil one, hence they often ruthlessly destroyed these signs of culture whenever and wherever found. What little was preserved by early Spanish writers, such as the laymen Povedano (an *encomendero*, whose account of 1572 has recently been discovered and will soon be published), Loarca, and Morga, and the Augustinian Rada, the Franciscan Plasencia, the Jesuit Chirino, and other religious, is very valuable to the student of Philippine history. Especially are the three Bisayan manuscripts above mentioned of inestimable value. Pavón, who wrote in the nineteenth century, and who appears to have been an observer and historian first, and a priest second (much as George Borrow was a colporteur because that occupation furnished a vent for his adventurous disposition), and thus of a different stripe from the

majority of his confrères, evidently made wide use of the prestige of his position to gather data for his writings. His curiosity was boundless, and he appears to have taken every possible occasion to satisfy it. That his writings did not meet with the favor of his superiors is seen by his complaint at the end of the second volume of his "Legends," to the effect that they unjustly censured his books and refused to allow them to be published.

The Bisayan Islands, that group of the Philippines lying roughly between Luzon and Mindanao, probably contain more vestiges of the early culture of Philippine peoples than any other region in the archipelago, although it is true that there is not a single island of any size in the Philippines in which considerable data for the reconstruction of the old history may not be gleaned if sufficient care and industry be observed. In the Bisayan group there are still many old burial caves which await thorough exploration, and these will doubtless yield much information. Then, too, as Pavón has proved, many things may be learned by direct observation and contact with the people. However, the older generation, which had more or less perfectly preserved their old stories and customs, is rapidly giving place to a new generation with a training far different from that of the former, and the collection of the oral traditions is becoming more difficult day by day. There is a pressing need for personal investigation by many persons under competent direction if the best results are to be obtained.

While it is true that the code presented below is, as stated above, the only early native code that, so far as known, has been preserved in the form in which it was promulgated, by no means are we entirely ignorant of native law and native procedure. Fortunately, Loarca, Plasencia, and other early writers have preserved for us some of the salient features of the social life of the early Malayan peoples of the Philippines and, among other interesting data, present considerable material respecting their customs, laws, and legal status. A few brief notes regarding these may not be amiss.

The chief sources of printed information are several of the old Spanish writers, both civil officials and members of the religious corporations. Since some of these men wrote soon after the begin-

ning of Spanish colonization in the Philippines, it must be inferred that they had excellent opportunities for investigation, for the old customs and manners of living of the natives, as well as their beliefs, persisted, as one might expect, either in whole or in part, even in the face of the Christian religion offered by the missionaries. It is, in fact, the persistence of custom that permitted Pavón to write a great deal of his interesting work.[1]

The *tabu*, of course, exercised considerable influence upon the lives of all early Malayans, whether inhabiting the Philippines or elsewhere, and that influence necessarily extended somewhat to the laws by which those peoples governed themselves. This is hardly the place, however, to make a study of the *tabu* and its effect on the laws in force among the early Philippine peoples, interesting as that might be.[2] By no means, it should be pointed

[1] Several of the most important of the old writers who touch on law are the following. Their works will be found in English translation, either in whole or in part, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands: 1493–1898* (Cleveland, 1903–1909). In later citations the above work will be designated as B. and R.

1. Miguel Loarca, a Spanish soldier and *encomendero* in the island of Panay. His account was written by order of the governor about the year 1580, and is entitled "Relation of the Philippine Islands." Both Spanish and English in B. and R., vol. 5, pp. 34–187. This is an excellent and intelligently written report throughout.

2. Juan Plasencia, a Franciscan friar, who compiled his three reports at the order of the governor as an aid in the governing of Spain's new subjects. The titles of these reports are as follows:

(*a*) "Customs of the Tagalogs." In B. and R., vol. 7, pp. 173–185.

(*b*) "Relation of the worship of the Tagalogs, their gods, and their burials and superstitions." In B. and R., vol. 7, pp. 185–196.

(*c*) "Instructions regarding the customs which the natives of Pampanga formerly observed in their lawsuits." In B. and R., vol. 16, pp. 321–329.

3. Antonio de Morga, chief justice of the criminal court of Manila. His book is entitled *Events of the Philippine Islands* (Mexico, 1609). In B. and R., vols. 15 and 16. A portion of the eighth chapter deals with the legal status of the Filipinos. Morga was one of the best lawyers who ever served in the Philippines, and was, moreover, a remarkably good observer.

4. Francisco Colin, a Jesuit missionary in the Philippines. Those portions of his work *Labor evangélica* (Madrid, 1663) which treat of the peoples of the Philippines are in B. and R., vol. 40, pp, 37–98, under the title, "Native races."

5. Francisco Combes, a Jesuit missionary of the southern islands. Those portions of his work, *Historia de Mindanao, Jolo*, etc. (Madrid, 1667), which treat of the people of the Philippines, are in B. and R., vol. 40, pp. 99–182, under the title "Natives of Southern Islands." This book contains much useful information concerning the Moros.

6. Francisco de San Antonio, a Franciscan missionary in the Philippines. Those portions of his book, *Chrónicas* (Manila, 1738–1744), which treat of the people of the Philippines are in B. and R., pp. 296–373, under the title "Native Peoples and their Customs." San Antonio evidently copied much of his information from Colin.

[2] See Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough*, 10 vols. London, 1907–1914. *Tabu* is treated in vol. 2.

out, was the *tabu* entirely a creation of superstition, and its "thou shalt not" often touched matters of deep import. Necessarily, in any discussion of the laws of the peoples of the Philippines, much must be said of custom, for it is a well-known fact that custom often hardens into law, as is noted by Saleeby in the work above cited.

At the time of the Spanish colonization, the ancestors of the eight peoples now known as Filipinos, who had come to the archipelago in various waves of immigration, namely, the Tagalog, the Bikol, the Pampango, the Pangasinan, the Sambal, the Ilokano, the Ibanag (all in Luzon), and the Bisaya (representing various groups speaking as many dialects of one language, and inhabiting the Bisayan Islands), were found living under laws more or less alike. Of them all the Tagalog were the most highly organized, but some at least of the Bisaya, and some of the other peoples, had also advanced sufficiently to have their own systems of writing. Society was divided into three general classes — the chiefs, or ruling class, the freemen, and the slaves. The political structure rested on the family as a unit. The peculiar communal organization, the *barangay* (so called because the first people forming a *barangay* were supposed to have come to the Philippines in a boat by that name), was theoretically composed of the head of a family, his relatives and dependents, and their slaves. The chief's power varied according to his family, wealth, and personal qualities. A number of *barangay*, each of which had its own chief, might be located in the same town, and might all be subordinate to a still higher chief; or a chief's influence might extend over more than one town. The people of one *barangay* might be hostile to those of another, even in the same town. Hostility and distrust of strangers not in a certain immediate proximity were not unnatural qualities, and were by no means absent from the Europeans of that epoch, as witness the hostility of the Spanish and the French in Florida, or of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the Orient. Friendship outside the immediate circle might be made by the peculiar Malay ceremony of drinking blood-brotherhood, and once that was done, the stranger was as safe as he who ate salt with the Arab, and it was esteemed dishonorable and treacherous to break faith after such a ceremony. Indeed, the ceremony of

drinking blood-brotherhood is the beginning of a system of international law among the early Filipinos.

This loose system of community interest was not thoroughly understood by the Spanish colonists, who looked for a strong central ruler, but finding none, were prone to accuse the natives of living in a state somewhat akin to anarchy. Accordingly, we find such expressions as "The inhabitants of these islands are not subjected to any law, king, or lord"; "The people do not act in concert"; and "There is little justice and reason among the natives." [1]

However, the conquerors found that trade and other relations existed more or less loosely among the various communities and peoples. There was found, too, what has been found in so many other parts of the world, namely, the oppression and curtailment of the activities of the uplanders by the more astute lowlanders, with the consequent hostility of the former and the raiding of the lowlands whenever opportunity offered.[2] But more important for the sake of the present study, we find that all the early peoples of the Philippines had an idea of law and that they recognized certain crimes and imposed penalties for infraction of their ordinances or customs.

Coördinate with what organized government existed, and, in fact, interwoven with every act of daily life, was religion. This was animistic, and abounded in superstitions and fantastic beliefs, although there are certain elements that can be defended because of their utility and common sense. Religion joined at least with other factors in creating custom and law, and the *tabu* itself was largely religious. Among the Tagalog, the priest or officiator was known as *katalona*, and among the Bisaya, as *baylan*, *babaylan*, or *tagalona*, and this person might be of either sex. The functions of the office were the exorcism of evil spirits, the calling of good spirits, the care of the sick, the production of charms for various purposes, the sacrifice of hogs and chickens, and all the varied duties that are generally ascribed to the holy men of peoples of the cultural condition of the early Filipinos.

[1] B. and R., vol. 3, p. 54, and p. 264.

[2] "One class includes those who live along the coast, the other class those who live in the mountains; and if peace reign among them, it is because they depend upon each other." (Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5, p. 121.)

Among the crimes recognized were murder, theft, adultery, and other crimes of passion, debt, insulting words and actions (especially against chiefs and influential men and women), and the breaking of *tabu*. Among penalties were death by various methods, mutilation, slavery, fines, and imprisonment. But every crime, murder included, might be atoned for by a fine.

In their daily life, all simple activities were more or less covered by laws which were, as has been suggested, largely the outgrowth of custom. The Bisaya believed that their laws had been given by a mythical woman, Lubluban, and that the chiefs were the defenders and executors of those laws.[1] But this is merely a semi-religious explanation of custom. It suggests, however, that the social structure of chiefs and nobles, commoners or freemen, and slaves, called for certain rules of conduct. A few additional words on each of these three classes may not be out of place at this point.

The native word for "chief" which was most commonly employed was *datu* or *dato*, and this word is still in constant use. The word *hari* was occasionally used and is generally translated "king." Among the Tagalog, *maginoo* was sometimes used in place of *datu*. The Spaniards, in addition to the above words, spoke of the chiefs as *rey* (king), *regulo* and *reyesuelo* (petty king), and *principal* (which might refer either to the head of a community or to one of the principal men, who because of his descent, wealth, or force of character had a voice in affairs). *Rey*, *regulo*, and *reyesuelo* were terms generally used to designate a chief whose jurisdiction extended over more than one community or town. *Datu* might refer either to the chief of a single community or to the recognized head of a considerable district. Although *principal* might refer, as above seen, to a community chief, the plural form *principales* was more often employed to designate the principal persons below the chief, and the word *principalía* the body formed by such persons. It must constantly be borne in mind that the terminology employed is very loose and vague.

Chiefs inherited in the male line, and if there were no male issue in the direct line the chieftainship was given to the brother of the deceased chief or collateral relatives. All male descendants

[1] See Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5, p. 141.

of chiefs who did not become chiefs, as well as all female descendants, were numbered among the *principalía*. The history of the Philippines does not lack instances of men becoming chiefs because of their wealth and ability, although they had not been born into the chieftain class.

Numerous instances in the history of the Philippines prove that the power of the chief was no shadowy unreality, but a recognizable quantity, and that it was always taken into account in all matters affecting the community, either in its internal or external relations. The same Spanish civil officials and missionaries who denied the power of the chief and the lack of government, frequently contradicted themselves. Their difficulty was one of perspective and the inability to grasp a standard of government other than the European system, with which they were more or less perfectly acquainted. I am quite aware of the ineffectiveness and indirection of the government that existed among the early Philippine peoples for anything beyond the smaller projects of the community, village, or confederation of villages, but we are dealing with the genesis of peoples who were entering into the ranks of civilization, the type of which was Oriental. The old accounts show that there were various grades of chiefs; that each chief exercised in his own district an authority that was often absolute; that the chief was the prime maker and executor of the laws; that he enjoyed certain perquisites; and that he was obliged on his side to watch over the best interests of his people.[1]

As one would suppose, the great majority of the people was composed of freemen or commoners. These were known as *timagua* or *timaua* among some of the peoples. They usually held their land as a largesse from their chief. In return, though they paid the chief no fixed sum, they were obliged to accompany him to war at their own expense, to row for him, and to perform other acts of personal service. The *timagua*, according to Morga,[2] paid a tribute to the chief from their crops, and the latter enjoyed a monopoly of the fisheries as well, for the use of which he received some return. As above seen, the chief owed certain duties to his

[1] See B. and R.: vol. 5, pp. 141, 175–177 (Loarca); vol. 16, p. 322 (Plasencia); vol. 16, pp. 119–120 (Morga).
[2] In B. and R., vol. 16, p. 119.

people, such as protection from outside aggression, the preservation of harmony, the equitable sentencing of suits, and their general well-being. As a matter of fact, he usually abused his authority and tyrannized over the *timagua*, disposing of their service as if they were chattels. He could enslave any of them at any time, and could inflict hardships at will. Very early the Spaniards began to employ the American word *cacique* when speaking of the leaders, and this word has survived even to the present time and is in constant use. Indeed, the power of the leader among the ignorant people is still almost as great if not actually as great as at the time of Spanish colonization. The unbridled power and baleful influence of the *cacique* is, however, doomed, and is giving way before the advance of education. This power of the *cacique* might be compared to that of the American political boss, with the prerogatives of the latter raised to the highest degree.

The slave class offers to the historian in certain of its features perhaps the most interesting phases of Philippine life. The laws by which slavery was governed were very definite, and the institution was well crystallized. The system was remarkably mild, and bears favorable comparison in more than one direction with the system of slavery that grew up in the United States.

A person might become a slave by forced seizure as the result of war or feud, because of debt or crime, or through heredity which might arise from any of the preceding forms. It has been stated that slavery for debt is still existent among the Christian Filipinos, though this is denied by the Filipinos themselves. A recent law has been passed forbidding slavery in any form in the Philippine Islands.[1]

Slavery by forced seizure was no whit different in origin than the same system wherever it has been practised. The Mohammedan Moros were much given to enslavement by capture, although it was practised more or less by all early Philippine peoples. Until almost the end of Spanish domination, the Moros were accustomed to swoop down upon the defenseless Filipino towns,

[1] See the recent pamphlet by the former Secretary of the Interior for the Philippine Islands, Dean C. Worcester, and the reply to it made by the Philippine Assembly.

whence they carried off large numbers of the people as a legitimate part of their booty.

In the case of slavery for debt, the luckless debtor was by Malay law entitled to his freedom upon payment of the principal with the usurious interest charged. This bears a distinct resemblance to the indenture system or to peonage. It happened very often that neither the debtor nor his family could meet the obligation, in great measure because of the accumulating compound usurious interest. As a consequence, if the debt had not been settled at the death of the original debtor, his family became slaves as a surety for the amount, and in this way the slavery often became hereditary.

The early Philippine peoples were very reluctant to impose the death penalty, although it can not be said that they were especially squeamish about the taking of human life. Consequently, crimes which by their laws merited death could generally be atoned for by payment of a fine, or in lieu of that by slavery. Some crimes were directly punishable by slavery, and at times not only of the culprit but of his relatives and household.

The status of slaves is interesting. There were different degrees of slavery, each of which was governed by its own special laws. Some slaves were for the work of the house and others for the fields. Some could be sold at will, but others could not legally be sold. The slave generally lived on terms of easy familiarity with his master, and often seemed a part of the family. Still the power of the master over the slave was paramount. Any master might punish or even kill his slave without any inquiry being made. Slaves might own and accumulate property, and might purchase their freedom. Their duty to their masters did not necessarily take all their time, and they were often able to acquire considerable wealth. A slave might marry a slave of the same or of another master, or a free person. The children born to slaves of different masters belonged equally to each master. If there were but one child, he belonged equally to each master. If there were an even number of children, one-half belonged to each master. If there were an odd number, the last child belonged equally to the two masters. Children born to a slave and a free person were half free and half slave. If there were but one child,

he was half free and half slave. If there were two, one was free and the other a slave, and consequently, if an even number, one-half were free and one-half slave. If the number were odd, the last child was half free and half slave. By the logical following out of this system, the proportion of slave blood might become infinitesimal, or just the opposite. Morga states that if a man had children by an unmarried slave woman belonging to him, he was bound to free both her and her children by virtue of the motherhood. In all this it will be noted that there was no "following of the womb" as in African slavery as practiced in America.[1]

This slight review of the social structure shows conclusively that the chiefs with their families and relatives formed a privileged class. Custom, enforced by law, was primarily in their favor. The laws, as has been seen, were made by the chiefs, who also caused them to be executed. What, now, were the customs and laws in regard to certain of the primal facts of life, namely, marriage and divorce, and death and inheritance? These must have a profound influence on any people.

Loarca says that the early Bisaya would not marry beneath their station, and this held true probably for the chiefs and their families;[2] but it was not universally true, for a slave might be married to a free person, as has been seen above. Polygamy was by no means uncommon, for a man could have as many women as he could support.[3] In the case of dual marriage, however, one woman was usually regarded as the legitimate wife, and the others as concubines, and distinction was always made between the children of the legitimate wife and those of the concubines.

Among most Philippine peoples, the union was decided on between the parents of the contracting couple. It might even be arranged between the parents before the birth of the children, its consummation being dependent upon the right accident of birth, the payment of a dowry by the man or his parents, and, in many instances, on the fertility of the woman. One condition of marriage might be that the groom should serve the parents of the

[1] See reports on slavery in B. and R., vol. 3, pp. 286–288; vol. 5, pp. 179–185; vol. 7, p. 173; and consult the index volume under caption "Slaves and slavery." See also *ante*, p. 168, note.

[2] In B. and R., vol. 5, p. 119.

[3] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 125.

bride in their home for months or even years before the actual marriage, in addition to the dowry paid. The latter was paid to the parents of the bride as a recompense to them for their work in rearing their daughter and the loss occasioned to them by her marriage. Personal chastity was not highly esteemed. Among some peoples it was considered a misfortune for a woman to be a virgin when married, and it is recorded that the Bisaya hired a public ravisher to deflower their daughters at an early age.[1] A married man might live in concubinage for a long time with his sister-in-law or even have had access to his mother-in-law before he had lived carnally with his wife, especially if the latter were very young.[2] Rape, incest, and adultery were on the whole lightly regarded, although some peoples did regard them as crimes of a grave nature.

Divorce was easy, and often hinged on the fertility of the woman. This is true among the wild peoples of the Philippines to-day, among some of whom what amounts to a trial marriage is observed. If the divorce was obtained by the woman in order that she might remarry, it was sufficient to return the dowry to the man or to his parents, with an additional amount equal to the dowry.[3] If, however, she did not remarry, then only the dowry was returned. If the husband divorced his wife, he lost one-half the dowry, and the other one-half was returned to him. If the couple had children at the time of the divorce, the whole dowry and fine (if one were imposed) went to them, and was held in trust for them by the grandparents or other responsible relatives. Sometimes, when the husband was manifestly at fault, the whole dowry was retained by the woman's parents.[4] After the birth of children, separation of husband and wife was comparatively rare.

The mysterious phenomenon of death engrossed the attention of early Philippine peoples, as it has that of all races and peoples since human life began. Sickness and death (unless the latter were the result of armed violence) were considered as due to the forces of evil, exercised either directly by evil spirits, or through

[1] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 131.
[2] Morga, *ibid.*, pp. 129,131; and San Antonio, in B. and R., vol. 40, p. 358.
[3] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, p. 183.
[4] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 126.

the agency of witches or persons in league with the evil spirits. Hence, much of the superstitious religion of Philippine peoples centered closely about sickness and death. The mourning and burial customs which were evolved were quite rigidly adhered to, and all generally had some reference to the existence of the soul of the deceased.[1] From the legal standpoint, the most interesting matters connected with death are the customs and laws of inheritance.

At the death of one or both of the parents, the inheritance laws were quite exact and definite. Wills were sometimes made, and might be written or oral; but in either case they were not contested and were carried out strictly.[2] As stated above, the dowry at marriage was paid by the groom or his parents to his wife's parents. The latter enjoyed this property as their own, and at their death it was divided equally among all their children, including the wife of the one for whom the dowry had been paid. In case the wife had no parents or grandparents at the time of her marriage, the dowry belonged to her, and it passed by inheritance to her children, each one inheriting equally. In general children inherited equally any property left by their parents, unless either parent desired to show some slight partiality by a small gift.[3] If there were no legitimate children, the property was divided among the collateral relatives, for illegitimate children did not inherit, and even the illegitimate children of chiefs were not included among the *principalía*.[4] In case of children by two or more legitimate wives, each child received the proper share of the inheritance of his mother's dowry, plus his proportionate share in any gain that might have been made from the dowry, as well as an equal share of his father's estate. Plasencia says that children by a free unmarried woman, even one to whom a dowry might

[1] See B. and R., index caption "Filipinos — Mortuary customs." Colin thus describes the procedure at the death of a chief: "Silence must reign in the village until the interdict was raised, and that lasted a greater or less number of days, according to his rank. During that time no sound or noise was to be heard anywhere, under penalty of infamy. In regard to this even the villages along the riverbank placed a certain signal aloft, so that no one might sail by that side, or enter or leave the village, under penalty of death. They deprived anyone who broke that silence of his life, with the greatest cruelty and violence" (B. and R., vol. 40, p. 81).

[2] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 127.

[3] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, p. 181; and Morga, *ibid.*, vol. 16, op. 126.

[4] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 127.

have been given but who was not regarded as a legitimate wife, were natural children, and inherited but a third part. If a man had children by a free married woman, and a fine had been exacted by the husband of the woman from the adulterer, the fine was considered as a dowry, and the child entered with others into the inheritance. If, on the other hand, no fine had been paid, the natural child did not inherit.[1] In Pampanga, if a wife died without children, the whole dowry was returned, but if children had been born, only one-half the dowry was returned. If any child were living at the death of the father or mother, he inherited the property of the deceased parent, and if the child were a minor, the property was administered by the parents of the deceased. Should the minor child die, the property was inherited by the grandparents and not by the living parent.[2] Laws existed among certain of the peoples of the Philippines by which children might be adopted on payment of a certain sum. Upon the death of the person who adopted any such child, double the sum paid for his adoption was given to him.[3] The inheritance laws and customs of the various Philippine peoples deserve more space than can be given them here, for in many ways they show the legal status of the people.

As seen above, definite property rights existed. Among the Tagalog, and probably among the other peoples, husband and wife each had entire charge of their own property, and any property acquired by them jointly was divided equally between them. This property law compares favorably with the present laws of more than one state in the Union. Unmarried women could own no property in their own names, and any profit resulting from their work, or any inheritance which fell to them, belonged to their parents.[4] The law of partnerships is interesting. When a partnership was formed by two men, each of whom furnished an equal amount of money, and one man went to trade with the money of both, the other partner became equally liable in case the trader were captured and a ransom demanded for his release. On the other hand, if one of the partners lost money on gambling or women, he, together with his children, was held liable for the sum

[1] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, pp. 181, 182.
[2] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 328.
[3] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, p. 182; and Morga, *ibid.*, 16, p. 126.
[4] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, p. 183.

so lost. If the amount lost could not be paid back to the partnership within the stipulated time, the sinning partner and half his children became the slaves of the other partner. If the children who were left with their freedom were able to pay the debt, the father and the other children were set free.[1]

Turning now from these considerations, let us see what was the method of court procedure, or in other words how the ends of justice were met. Colin, who is followed almost exactly by San Antonio without credit being given, says: "Their laws and policy, which were not very barbarous for barbarians, consisted wholly of traditions and customs, observed with so great exactness that it was not considered possible to break them in any circumstance." [2] Among the Tagalog (and the same procedure was more or less similar among all the peoples when laws and penalties were definitely stated by special enactment), laws were made and penalties provided for the infringement thereof by the greatest chief of any allied confederacy of *barangay*, communities, or towns, by and with the consent of the sub-chiefs. When the new enactments had been approved by all the chiefs, they were proclaimed by public crier in all places affected. Those who transgressed the ordinance were sentenced by the chief. Each sub-chief acted as judge within the limits of his district, but in important cases, all the sub-chiefs met under the presidency of the head chief (the *regulo* or *reyesuelo*) and the matter was settled by vote.[3]

Among the Tagalog, all investigations by the *datu* and his sentences took place before the persons concerned. In case one of the litigants appealed, an arbiter was chosen from another *barangay* or town, who might or might not be a *datu*, and from his judgment there was no appeal. Judges or arbiters were also chosen to hear the disputes between two chiefs when they wished to avoid war, and between litigants from different *barangay*.[4] Morga says that in all kinds of suits, the case was heard before the old men of the district in which the litigants lived. After the witnesses presented by both sides had been examined, the sentence was immediately pronounced and executed.[5]

[1] Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5.
[2] Colin, in B. and R., vol. 40, pp. 84–86; and San Antonio, *ibid.*, pp. 355–356.
[3] Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5, pp. 175–177.
[4] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, p. 179.
[5] In B. and R., vol. 16, p. 121.

It seems to have been a common occurrence for the old men to intervene in suits in all parts of the Philippines, probably as advisers or counsellors.

The usual procedure was for each side to present its witnesses, and from their testimony and number (and the latter was very important) the case was judged. In some cases an oath was administered, such as: "May the crocodile eat me!" "May my belly burst!" or "May the lightning strike me!" The system left abundant room for perjury, and this doubtless frequently occurred. Indeed, one of the charges made against the present-day native of the Philippines is that he can easily be made to commit perjury.

The judgment for most cases involved the payment of a fine by the loser, the amount of which was usually within the discretion of the judge or judges. As a rule the judges and intermediators before whom the suit was tried received one-half of the fine, the chief taking the greater part, while the other half was paid to the winner of the suit or his relatives. Sometimes, it is said, the winner was left with a mere pittance as his share. Criminal cases, such as murder, were generally judged in accordance with the rank of the criminal and his victim, for, as already seen, rank has always carried an undue influence in the Philippines.[1]

Plasencia describes very fully the procedure among the Pampango. When complaint was made to the chief by one of his *timaguas*, the former immediately summoned the defendant and attempted to compose the differences between the two men. If he failed, formal suit was opened. An oath was administered to each litigant by which he bound himself to abide by the judgment of the chief. Since the Pampango did not use written documents in their trials, the examination was entirely verbal. If the number of witnesses presented by both sides were equal, the amount of the suit was divided equally between the litigants; but if the number were unequal, the suit was decided in favor of the one who had the greater number. If the loser refused to pay the sum to which he had been condemned, the judge or judges compelled him to do so by actual violence. The witnesses of the win-

[1] See San Antonio, in B. and R., vol. 40, pp. 356–357.

ner, as well as the judges, shared in the fine, but the witnesses of the loser received nothing.[1]

Among certain peoples trial by ordeal was not uncommon. This was accomplished in several ways. In the case of theft, before resorting to the actual ordeal, the criminal was given one last chance to return the stolen property. This was done, after the crime had been proven but not the criminal, by causing each of the suspects to deposit a bundle of something (cloth, leaves, or anything else desired) in a common heap, it being assumed that the stolen article would be found in the bundle deposited by the thief. If the property were found, the suit ceased. If not, the ordeal was applied. One method was to place each suspect in the deepest part of the river, each with his wooden spear in his hand. At the same instant all were plunged under the water, and the one to emerge first was considered to be the guilty person. It is said that many let themselves drown rather than run the risk of condemnation. A second method was to place a stone in a vessel of boiling water, and to order the suspected person to take it out with the hand. He who refused to submit to the test was adjudged guilty. By a third method, each of the suspected persons was given a candle, all the candles being uniform as to wick, size, and weight. These were lighted at the same instant, and he whose candle went out first was regarded as the guilty person.[2]

Still another form of trial was by divination. This was used also in cases of theft. One method consisted of burning a piece of rock alum. After the alum had been vaporized and then crystallized, an image was said to be formed which was that of the criminal. This led to absurd conclusions, for should the image formed by the crystals resemble any animal, then the animal was considered to be the criminal, and the suit was dismissed.[3] Divination by means of the *bilao* was sometimes resorted to. This is described by Pavón in his "Legends" as well as by San Antonio. Since Pavón's account is the better, it is given here complete. The ceremony is known by the name of *salagunting*. The *bilao* is a basket that is used in the household economy. The

[1] In B. and R., vol. 16, pp. 322–323.
[2] Colin, in B. and R., vol. 40, pp. 84–86.
[3] San Antonio, in B. and R., vol. 40, p. 343.

account is as follows: "They take a *bilao* about one *palmo* across at its mouth, and a pair of scissors with sharp points. They select a small room for this purpose. Then they light two candles. The prophet shuts himself up in the said room, and repeats this fine prayer three times or as often as may be necessary — 'Invincible spirits, and genii of sky, earth, air, and water, who see and watch all: aid me, I beg you, to discover and know all those evil thieves, who without the permission of the good master extract things and money contrary to the excellent rules of our good and ever just *diuata* Casanlhalaan' . . . After uttering this prayer thrice, the prophet opens the scissors and sets the *bilao* on their points, and thereupon says: 'Here are these scissors and this *bilao* which I present to you. By means of them, I wish you to tell me which one of those whom I name is the author of the theft; and whoever it be cause this *bilao* to see him.' While saying this, he holds the *bilao* still with the thumbs and index fingers of his right and left hands. Then he continues to call the names of all those persons who are suspected, and when he reaches the name of that person who committed the theft, they say that the *bilao* vibrates and falls to the ground. The prayers are repeated as long as the candles stay lit. Care must be taken that no person enters the place or room, nor must there be any current of air even." San Antonio says that a rosary was hung to the scissors — a procedure which shows the influence of the Spaniards.[1] A later development of trial by divination which shows distinctly the influence of Christianity was to light a candle to St. Anthony of Padua, the patron saint who is said to officiate in the recovery of lost articles. If the flame shot out toward any of those present, he was regarded as the thief.[2]

By the simple methods just enumerated justice was administered and, perhaps, generally obtained. It was rude justice, but fairly effective. What partiality was shown was always in favor of the ruling class. That the justice as thus administered often made it possible to avoid feud or warfare there can be no doubt, and on this score alone it had a beneficial effect.

Before taking up the Pavón code, a slight review will be made of the chief crimes and penalties. Crimes will accordingly be

[1] In B. and R., vol. 40, p. 343. [2] *Ibid.*

taken up in the following order: insulting words and actions; theft; adultery; and murder. Debt, which was, perhaps, the most common crime, has already been discussed sufficiently.

The native of the Philippine Islands has always been extremely sensitive to the spoken word. Knowing this characteristic, those who come into contact with Filipinos should ever strive to exercise tact and self-control in their dealings with them. Insulting words and actions were and are considered worse than the actual blow.[1] Hence it is not surprising to find that heavy penalties were inflicted by the chiefs for insults to them and their families. For speaking disrespectfully to a chief, the penalty was death, unless the guilty person could pay a fine of fifteen *taes* or seventy-five *pesos*, or unless he became a slave.[2] Among the Pampango, in the case of insults between chiefs, a third chief of the highest rank in the province was invited by the two to judge the matter. If either chief refused to concur in the judgment rendered, each began to give great feasts and entertainments, with the result that he who spent the greater sum was esteemed the more powerful and honorable. When the chiefs were of equal rank, a refusal to pay any fine imposed by the arbiter might result in a feud between the two communities, during the continuance of which any person captured was made a slave. If insults were bandied between two chiefs, one of whom occupied the highest rank, three or four chiefs were chosen by the others of the province to take cognizance of the case.[3]

Among the Tagalog, a man of low birth who insulted the daughter or wife of a chief was condemned to death. Slavery was decreed for those who passed by the chief while he was bathing in the river, or who looked at him less respectfully than he deemed proper.[4] If one *timagua* insulted another, the judge imposed a fine in proportion to the nature of the insult, and in case the criminal could not pay the fine he became the slave of the injured person.[5] When a *timagua* insulted a chief and had no property with which to pay the fine, he was enslaved together

[1] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, pp. 128, 129.
[2] Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5; Combes, *ibid*, vol. 40, pp. 148, 149 (in speaking of the Moros).
[3] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 326.
[4] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 7, p. 179; Morga, *ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 119.
[5] Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5.

with his wife and children. No penalty, or a very slight one, was imposed for an insult by a chief to a *timagua*.[1]

The crime of theft was regarded with severity, and death, mutilation, and slavery were not unknown penalties.[2] As above seen, trial by ordeal or divination was at times resorted to in order to discover the criminal. Among the Tagalog, the theft was considered petty larceny if for an amount not in excess of four *taes* or twenty *pesos*, but if beyond that amount, it was a serious offense. For petty larceny, the culprit was obliged to return the amount stolen plus the fine decreed by the judge; but for grand larceny the penalty of slavery was imposed unless the amount equalled a *catty*, in which case the sentence was death or the enslavement of the criminal together with his children and all his household. This law seems to have been modified at times, inasmuch as a fine might be imposed for the first offence, slavery for the second, and death for the third. In case the sentence of death were excused, the wife and children were enslaved, because they were supposed to have a knowledge of the crime. Any member of the family who could prove that he was not in the house when the crime was committed, was not included in the punishment.[3] Among the Pampango, a chief who committed theft was compelled to return the amount stolen and pay a fine in proportion to the theft, this fine being imposed by one of the chiefs who was selected by his fellows. The oldest and most intelligent chief was generally chosen, and he could moderate the amount of the fine at will. If the theft were committed by a *timagua*, and he were unable to pay his fine, he was sold as a slave to the village. If he were a slave, his master paid his fine or gave him as a slave to the aggrieved party, in addition to which he was well beaten. If the owner of stolen goods caught a slave in the act of committing theft he could kill or beat him with impunity.[4] Among the Moros joints of the fingers or toes were cut off as a warning, a greater or less number according to the amount of the theft. This might be modified to a fine.[5]

[1] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 320.
[2] Morga, in B. and R., vol. 16, pp. 128, 129; Combes, *ibid.*, vol. 40, p. 150.
[3] Loarca, in B. and R., vol. 5.
[4] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 325.
[5] Combes, in B. and R., vol. 40, p. 150.

As seen above, adultery, incest, and rape were not so seriously regarded as among many peoples. However, the penalty was assigned with reference to the rank of the offender.[1] If a chief committed adultery, his kinsmen paid his fine, and if this were not done, the chief became a slave.[2] Among the Tagalog, the chief who committed adultery was condemned to death (always, however, with modification of the sentence to a fine). The same penalty was inflicted on the man who committed adultery with the concubine of a chief. The husband might kill the adulterer if he were caught in the act. If the guilty man escaped, a fine was imposed, and until that were paid, enmity existed between the families.[3] The Pangasinan put the woman to death, but the punishment among the other peoples seems to have been visited on the man.[4] Among the Moros, a higher ideal seemed to prevail than in some other parts in regard to crimes of passion. The unnatural crime was punished by the burning of the offenders and their property; or they were placed in a cage and thrown into the sea, and all their property burned. Incest in the first degree they regarded as a most heinous crime.[5]

The crime of murder has called for special treatment from most peoples, and considerable attention was given to it in the Philippines. Among the Tagalog, the usual penalty was death, unless the murderer became the slave of the relatives of his victim. After sentence, the condemned might choose between death and slavery. If the murdered man were a chief, the entire village of the criminal, after the fact was proved, became slaves, those who were most guilty being put to death.[6] This was the law, but a murder was at any time apt to lead to a feud war which was generally started by the kinsmen of the murdered man. The rapidly dying custom of headhunting of the present-day wild peoples is only this feud warfare sanctioned by religion and superstition. The feud might stop only after all parties had grown tired of it and after the mediators had declared the amount of the fine to

[1] Morga in B. and R., vol. 16, p. 129; San Antonio, *ibid.*, vol. 40, p. 358.
[2] Loarca in B. and R., vol. 5, p. 151.
[3] Loarca in B. and R., vol. 5.
[4] Loarca in B. and R., vol. 5, p. 117.
[5] Combes in B. and R., vol. 40, p. 150.
[6] Loarca in B. and R., vol. 5.

be paid in accordance with an appraisal made by the old men.[1] Colin says that the penalty of death was not imposed by process of law unless the murderer and his victim were common men and there were no property with which to satisfy the murder. In such case, the murderer was speared to death either by his own *datu* or by the other chiefs, after having been fastened to a stake.[2] Plasencia gives many interesting details regarding the penalties for murder among the Pampango. When a chief was killed by another chief, it was the signal for a feud war, which might cease only when the murderer had been killed. If the murderer were not killed, as many as possible of his followers were killed in retaliation. After a certain time had elapsed, the other chiefs of the province made an attempt to reconcile the two parties. For a prominent chief, a fine of one hundred gold *taes* or five hundred *pesos* was generally paid, but seventy or eighty *taes* was the usual sum for the lesser chiefs. One-half this sum was given to the kin of the murdered man, and the other half to the mediators and *timaguas* of the *barangay* of the deceased. If the kinsmen of the deceased refused to listen to reconciliation, the other chiefs aided the party of the murderer until they forced a peace. If a *timagua* killed a chief, the kinsmen of the latter slew the murderer together with his wife and children, if they were caught, and all the murderer's property was seized and divided among the children of the deceased, or if the latter had no children, among those who avenged his death. If a chief killed a *timagua*, the murderer paid the children of his victim from ten to twenty gold *taes*. In case the *timaguas* had no heirs, the sum was paid to the judge who passed the sentence, the latter being a chief who had been selected by the other chiefs of the town in which the murder occurred. When one *timagua* killed another and had no property with which to pay the fine, he was speared to death or hanged by his own or another chief. The same law was followed when one woman killed another by poison, steel, or other agency. The death sentence was not passed when one brother killed another, an uncle his nephew, or a nephew his uncle, but all the property of the criminal was seized and given to the heirs of the deceased. Witches who committed

[1] Colin in B. and R., vol. 40, pp. 85, 86; San Antonio, *ibid.*, pp. 356, 357.
[2] See Colin and San Antonio, *ut supra*.

murder were stabbed to death by the chief of their own *barangay* or that of the *barangay* of their victim, or in case either of these two failed in his duty, by any other chief, while the property of the witch was seized and divided between the heirs of the deceased and the chief who killed the murderer.[1]

We now come to Pavón's code. It is hereto appended in both its Spanish and English translations. It is to be regretted that Pavón did not give the original Bisaya as he has done with some other documents which he reproduces. If one keep in mind what has been said in the preceding part of this paper, much of the code will need no explanation. Given the hesitancy of the Filipino to condemn a criminal to actual death, it is probable that the death sentence imposed in the code for various offenses might be compounded by a fine or by slavery. Throughout the penalties are severe in tone, and some of them are quite different from any that have been reported by any other writer. The great importance of this code lies in the fact that it gives a more intimate viewpoint of the people before the Spanish colonization than any other writings yet discovered. The poor Spanish used at times in Pavón's translation must be ascribed to his amanuensis.

LOS 17 [*i.e.* 18] THESIS, Ó LEY DE LOS REGULOS EN USO EN 1850 DESDE 1433

Este q^{e} aqui reprodusco es una traduccion fiel de un documento Yngneine de 1433, traducido pr. el espérto traductor de alphabetos Bisaias don Raphael Murviedro i Zamaneu. Este documento fué allado en poder de un regúlo de la Isla de Panai en 1614, el original en un estado malo obra en poder del Erudito Dn. Marselino Orfila en Zaragoza. De su traduccion puedo asegurar ser verdadera.

La primera orden

No matereis. Ni robareis. Ni lastimeis a viexos. Sin ser vuestra vida, corrida peligro de muerte. Todos los q^{e} esto infriengieran — a morir — aogados con piedra en rio — ó agua yrbiendo.

[1] Plasencia, in B. and R., vol. 16, pp. 323–326.

Segunda orden

Cumplireis. Qe. todas v[u]estras deudas con principales sea mui bien pagadas. El q^{e} no cumpliere. Por primera vez cien azotes. Si es mucha la deuda. Meter tres veces la mano en agua hirviendo. Por segunda vez morir a palos.

Tersera orden

Obedeced: el q^{e} cada uno no tenga muxeres q^{e} sean mui jovenes: Ni mas de lo q^{e} pueda cuidar. Ni usar ecesiba luxuria.

El q^{e} no cumpliera. Obedeciera. i Siguiera, será condenado a nadar tres oras, i por segunda vez morir azotado con puas de espinas. O comido pr. espinas pr. segunda vez.

Tersera [*i.e.* cuarta] orden

Seguid i obedeced: el q^{e} no se turben la paz de los sepulcros: en pasando dad respeto á ellos. En las cuevas i arvoles donde estan.

El que esto no siguiere será muerto por ho[r]migas. O azotado con puas. Asta morir.

4^{a} [*i.e.* 5^{a}] orden

Obedecereis: El q^{e} los cambios pr. comidas. sea siempre seguida al pie de su palabra.

El q^{e} no cumpliere será puesto á palos una hora. El que repita sera puesto en las hormigas un dia.

5^{a} [*i.e.* 6^{a}] Orden

Sereis obligados a reverenciar, sitios respetados. Arvoles de conocido balor i otros sitios.

Pagará con su trabajo por un mes, en oro ó con miel el dejara de cumplir, si pr. segunda vez esclavonia pr. sinco Añ^{s}

6^{a} [*i.e.* 7^{a}]

Seran muertos: El que mate arvoles de venerado aspecto. El q^{e} tire flechasos pr. la noche Con viexos i muxeres. El q^{e} entre en casas de principales, sin permiso. El que mate pes Tivoron, ó Caiman raiado.

7ª [*i.e.* 8ª]

Esclavonia por un daom (temporada) aquellos qᵉ robasan muxeres de los principales. El qᵉ tenga malos perros qᵉ muerda á los principales. El qᵉ Queme sembrados agenos.

8ª [*i.e.* 9ª]

Serán apaleados pr. dos dias todos aquellos qᵉ: Cantan en viaxes de noche. Maten paxaros Manaul. rompan documentos de los principales. Sean mentirosos de mal caletre. ó juegen con los muertos.

9ª [*i.e.* 10ª]

Sará obligación: Qᵉ toda madre enseñe cosas lascibas secretamente á sus hixas. i las prepare a ser muxeres. Qᵉ los hombres no sean crueles. Ni castiguen á sus muxeres cuando cojan Adulterio in Fraganti.

El qᵉ desobedeciere será muerto á pedasos. Y tyrado a los caimanes.

10ª [*i.e.* 11ª]

Seran incinerados: Aquellos qᵉ pr. su fuerza, ó pr. su listeza aian burlado i esquivado castigo. O, an muerto los chiquillos jovenes. O traten de robar muxeres de agorangs.

11ª [*i.e.* 12ª]

Seran ajogados: Todos aquellos esclavos qᵉ embistan con sus gefes superiores o sus dueños i amos. Todos los qᵉ a[b]usasen en su luxuria. Los qᵉ matasen sus anitos, rompiendolos, ó tirandolos.

12ª [*i.e.* 13ª]

Serán puestos en las hormigas pr. medio dia: Aquellos: Qᵉ maten gatos negros en luna nueva. O roben cozsas de gefes i agorangs pr. mui pequeños qᵉ sean.

13ª [*i.e.* 14ª]

Seran esclavos pa. toda su vida: Los qᵉ tengan hijas bellas i lo nieguen á hijos de los gefes. ó lo escondan de mala feé.

14ª [*i.e.* 15ª]

Que concierne a sus creencias i supersticiones.

Serán azotados aquellos qᵉ: Coman carnes malas de sus bichos respetados. ó hiervas qᵉ la tienen pr. buenas. el qᵉ lástime ó mate pollos de Manual, ó chongo blanco.

15ª [*i.e.* 16ª]

Seran cortados los dedos: De todos aquellos qᵉ rompan idolos de madera ó de barro, en sus olañgans i ofrendatorios. El qᵉ rompa punzones de tagalonas pª matar puercos, ó rompa vasixas de bebidas.

16ª [*i.e.* 17ª]

Seran muertos los qᵉ profanen sitios donde se depositan idolos. donde se entierren cosas sagrada[s] de sus diuatas i principales. El qᵉ haga sus necesidades en estos sitios sera insinerado.

17ª [*i.e.* 18ª]

Los qᵉ no hagan obedecer estas reglas, si son principales seran muertos a pedradas i machacados. i si son agorangs puestos en rios pa. ser comidos de Tivorones i caymanes.

Echo en el año 1433.

CALANTIAO, Regulo 3ʳᵒ

THE 17 [*i.e.* 18] THESES, OR LAW OF THE *REGULOS* IN USE FROM 1433 TO 1850[1]

The present reproduction is a faithful translation of an Yngneine[2] document of 1433, translated by the skilled translator of Bisayan alphabets, Don Raphael Murviedro i Zamaneu. This document was found in the possession of a *regulo* of the island of Panai in

[1] The title should read "18" instead of "17," for Pavón's amanuensis, as will be noted, repeats the caption to the third order, thus making an error in each succeeding order after the third. This error has been corrected throughout by the usual editorial interpolation between square brackets. The date in the manuscript is 1850, which is also an evident error of the amanuensis, since Pavón wrote in 1837–1838. It is possible that 1650, or even 1750, is meant.

[2] The Malayan peoples of Negros and Panay (all Bisaya) were known formerly as the Higuecina (coast-dwellers) and Igueine ("Igneines" in Pavón; hill-dwellers). Chirino, writing before 1604 (see B. and R., vol. 12, pp. 238, 239), gives samples of two Bisayan dialects.

1614. The original, in a very bad condition, is in the possession of the erudite Don Marselino Orfila in Zaragoza. I can attest that its translation is exact.

The first order

Ye shall not kill; neither shall ye steal; neither shall ye do hurt to the aged:[1] lest ye incur the danger of death. All those who infringe this [order shall be condemned] to death by being drowned with stones in the river, or in boiling water.

Second order

Ye shall obey. Let all your debts with the headmen [*principales*] be met punctually. He who does not obey [shall receive] for the first time one hundred lashes. If the debt is large, [he shall be condemned] to thrust his hand thrice into boiling water. For the second time, [he shall be condemned] to be beaten to death.

Third order

Obey ye: let no one have women that are very young; nor more than he can support; nor be given to excessive lust.[2]

He who does not comply with, obey, and observe [this order] shall be condemned to swim for three hours [for the first time], and for the second time, to be beaten to death with sharp thorns; or for the second time, [he shall be] lacerated with thorns.[3]

Third [*i.e.* fourth] order

Observe and obey ye: let no one disturb the quiet of graves. When passing by the caves and trees where they are, give respect to them.[4]

[1] Respect for age has always been one of the most pleasing traits of Filipino character.

[2] This order has a real moral foundation. In the remaining orders, it will be noted that several treat of the intercourse between the sexes.

[3] The Spanish is *comido por espinas*, literally "eaten by thorns." It is possible that Pavón dictated *comido por hormigas*, "eaten by ants."

[4] Burial in caves, at least for the chief men, was common among the early Bisaya, a fact that is well attested by the many burial caves that have been, and are being, discovered. In some of these caves well-preserved coffins and bones have been found. Quite recently, Mr. Luther Parker, of the Bureau of Education of the Philippines, found a number of skulls and other bones in several of these caves, and

He who does not observe this [order], shall be killed by ants, or beaten with thorns until he die.

4th [*i.e.* 5th] order

Ye shall obey: he who [makes] exchanges for food, let it be always done in accordance with his word.[1]

He who does not comply, shall be beaten for one hour, he who repeats [the offense] shall be exposed for one day among ants.

5th [*i.e.* 6th] order

Ye shall be obliged to revere sites that are held in respect [such as those of] trees of recognized worth, and other sites.[2]

He who fails to comply shall pay with one month's work in gold or in honey.

6th [*i.e.* 7th]

They shall be put to death: he who kills trees of venerable appearance; he who shoots arrows at night at old men and women; he who enters the houses of the headmen [*principales*] without permission;[3] he who kills the fish [called] shark, or the streaked cayman.[4]

he has written a very illuminating paper concerning them, which it is hoped will be published.

[1] Chirino, *Relación*, Rome, 1604 (see B. and R., vol. 12, p. 282), says: "Whether their harvest be good or bad, they never raise or lower the price of rice among themselves, which they always sell one to another at a fixed rate."

[2] In common with all peoples with an animistic form of religion, the Bisaya regarded certain kinds of trees (such as the balete) and sites as objects of especial reverence and awe. In the shade of sacred trees it was common to place or bury offerings, and offerings were left also at the other sacred sites. Among the ignorant peasant class, notwithstanding that all Filipinos, properly so called, have been Christians for over three centuries, this reverence still lives, and in many localities, natives are still to be found, who, of their own volition, would not dare fell a sacred tree.

[3] Loarca (B. and R., vol. 5, p. 185), speaking of the Tagalog, says: "When any person entered the house of a chief by night, against the will of the owner, he incurred the death penalty. It was their custom that when such an offender was caught he was first tortured, to ascertain whether any other chief had sent him. If he confessed that he had been thus sent, he was punished by enslavement: and he who had sent him incurred the death penalty, but might be released therefrom by paying a certain amount of gold for the crime."

[4] The shark figures in several myths of the early Filipinos. Pavón relates one wherein a shark caught by one of the first men in the world was the first of all creatures to die. There are no true crocodiles in the Philippines. The alligator is meant by the cayman.

7th [*i.e.* 8th]

Slavery for a *daom* (certain period of time) [1] [shall be suffered]: by those who steal away the women of the headmen [*principales*]; [2] by him who keeps ill-tempered dogs that bite the headmen [*principales*]; by him who burns the fields of another.

8th [*i.e.* 9th]

All those shall be beaten for two days, who: sing while traveling by night; [3] kill the bird Manaul; [4] tear the documents belonging to the headmen [*principales*] [5] are malicious liars; or mock the dead.

Daom is a Bisayan word, which Pavón retains and explains by *temporada* that is, a "certain length of time." Several of the old Bisayan dictionaries give a word *dayon* (which is probably the same word as *daom*), the meaning of which is *continuada, duradera,* and *perseverante.* This word would indicate that the slavery was to be very long or perpetual. On the other hand, the Tagalog word for year is *taon,* which appears to be the same word as *daom.*

[2] Loarca (B. and R., vol. 5, p. 141) says: "There are three cases in which these natives regard war as just. The first is when an Indian goes to another village and is there put to death without cause; the second, when their wives are stolen from them; and the third is when they go in friendly manner to trade at any village, and there, under the appearance of friendship, are wronged or maltreated."

[3] This order probably arose not so much from solicitude lest people be disturbed, as from fear that a war party give notice of its approach.

[4] In a chapter on birds in his second volume, Pavón says of the *manaul:* "They say that the *manaul,* which is one of the birds resembling an eagle, was once a powerful monarch, who governed all the birds of the universe. But in the course of time, he became an evil king. By means of enchantment he was punished and became incarnate in the bosom of a bird, so that he might later give a beginning to the human race by giving life to Sicalac and Sicavay." The myths of the Bisaya have many stories concerning this bird. The *manaul* of the Bisaya is akin to the *bathala* of the Tagalog, who considered the latter as the visible representation of the supreme deity. Sacred birds are, of course, common in history.

[5] The documents which were kept, according to Pavón, consisted of the following:

"Their sea and land songs. War narratives and the bravery of their ancestors.
"Stories of their beasts and domestic animals.
"Stories concerning their mythologies and superstitions.
"Legends regarding their various dances.
"Traditions of their sacred trees.
"Their herbs [used] for medicinal remedies."

Pavón says that those of the early Bisaya who knew how to write and possessed documents were those who overtopped their fellows by their might and ability, and who were generally of Chinese ancestry; the priests; the rowers; and the chief men. Both climate and material were against the preservation of the documents. Materials consisted of deerskin, parchment made from the crops of hens and other birds, various hard woods, leaves of plants, the outer layer of the spiny bamboo, baked clay, and gravel. Their ink was made from very black resistant resins. The three old Bisayan MSS. owned by the Philippine Library were written with ink probably made from the cuttlefish, and the material used was the sheath of the bofiga palm.

9th [*i.e.* 10th]

It shall be an obligation: let every mother teach matters pertaining to lust secretly to her daughters, and prepare them for womanhood; let not men be cruel nor punish their women when they catch them in the act of adultery.[1]

Whoever shall disobey shall be killed [by being cut] to pieces and thrown to the caymans.

10th [*i.e.* 11th]

They shall be burned: those who by their strength or cunning have mocked at and escaped punishment; or who have killed young boys; or try to steal away the women of *agorangs*.[2]

11th [*i.e.* 12th]

They shall be drowned: All those slaves who interfere with their superiors, or their owners or masters; all those who abuse themselves through their lust; those who destroy their *anitos* [3] by breaking them or throwing them down.

12th [*i.e.* 13th]

All those shall be exposed to the ants for half a day: who kill black cats during a new moon; [4] or steal anything from the chiefs and *agorangs*, however small it be.

[1] Possibly a reference to the deflowering of young girls. Loarca (B. and R., vol. 5, p. 157), quoting part of a marriage ceremony, says: "If the man should through dissolute conduct fail to support his wife, she will leave him, and shall not be compelled to return anything of the dowry, that he has given her; and she shall have freedom and permission to marry another man. And, therefore should the woman betray her husband, he can take away the dowry that he gave her, leave her, and marry another woman." When the adulterer had once paid the fine decreed to the wronged husband, the incident was considered closed, and the woman was not considered disgraced (Colin, in B. and R., vol. 40, p. 92).

[2] An unpublished history of Negros, written by the Spanish *encomendero*, Diego Lope Povedano, in 1572, and preserved in the Philippine Library, says that marriages were performed by an old man called the *agorang*. The word probably has some connection with the Tagalog word *gulang* (Bikol, *gurang*) meaning "age." It may also be connected with the Malay *orang kaya*, meaning "rich man" (see Favre, *Dictionnaire Français-Malais* (Vienne, 1880). Combes mentions a term *orancaya*, which was used among the Subano mountaineers of Mindanao, as the equivalent of "rich man."

[3] The belief in the *anito* was common among all Philippine Malayan peoples, and is still met with among the wild peoples. Everything, animate and inanimate, was supposed to have its *anito* or spirit, some of which were good and some evil. The reverence given the *anito* might be on account of fear. In the text, reference is made to idols which were supposed to be the representatives of certain spirits.

[4] The black cat figures in several of the old stories of the Bisaya, and in connection with the new or full moon.

13th [*i.e.* 14th]

Those shall be made slaves for life: who have beautiful daughters and deny them to the sons of chiefs, and with bad faith hide them away.

14th [*i.e.* 15th]

Which concerns their beliefs and superstitions.[1] Those shall be beaten: who eat the diseased flesh [*carnes malas*] of the beasts which they hold in respect, or the herbs which they consider good;[2] who wound or kill the young of Manaul, or the white monkey.

15th [*i.e.* 16th]

The fingers shall be cut off: of all those who break idols of wood and clay in their *olañgans*[3] and temples; of those who destroy the daggers of the *tagalonas*[4] [used] for killing pigs, or break the drinking jars [of the latter].

16th [*i.e.* 17th]

Those shall be killed who profane sites where idols are kept, and sites where are buried the sacred things of their *diuatas*[5] and headmen. He who performs his necessities in those places shall be burned.

[1] An interpolation by Pavón or by the translator of the original Bisaya.

[2] The Spanish of this passage seems hopelessly confused, and may be due to errors on the part of Pavón's amanuensis. The reading given is merely an attempt at translation.

[3] The Bisayan dictionaries examined do not give this word. It is, perhaps, connected with the word *loñgon*, meaning "grave," or the Bikol word *lagñan*, meaning "place of shelter." E. S. Schneider, of the forestry service of the Philippines, who is one of the best American linguists in Manila, quotes John Garvan, formerly of the Division of Ethnology of the Bureau of Science of the Philippines, to the effect that certain Mindanao hill people have a word *alañgan* or *oloñgan*, to designate little temporary shrines or offering places erected by them for their pagan worship.

[4] The priest or priestess who performed the sacrifices. See a good description of the sacrifice of a pig in Robertson, *Magellan's Journey Around the World* (Cleveland, 1906), vol. 1, pp. 163–167. The method as described by Pigafetta, is practically identical with that practiced by the hill people of Panay at the present time — as witnessed in 1912 by Mr. Parker of the Bureau of Education.

[5] This may refer to the offerings made to the spirits and idols. *Diautas* may refer directly to the diety.

17th [*i.e.* 18th]

Those who do not cause these rules to be obeyed: if they are headmen [*principales*] they shall be put to death by being stoned and crushed; and if they are *agorangs*, they shall be placed in rivers, to be eaten by sharks and caymans.

Done in the year 1433.[1]

CALANTIAO, 3d *Regulo*

[1] Pavón gives no clue as to his method of fixing this date.

TROUBLES OF AN ENGLISH GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

KARL C. LEEBRICK

FEW American students, even those well versed in the history of the Philippine Islands, know that Mr. Taft and his successors had an English predecessor in the government house at Manila more than one hundred and fifty years ago. Students of European history are all acquainted with the fact that among the various expeditions directed against the possessions of France and Spain during the "Seven Years' War" by the British government, there was one successfully launched against the Philippines; but very few of them know that it was the intent of the expedition not only to seize Manila but also to annex the Philippine Islands.

The story of General Draper's capture of Manila in 1762 is practically neglected in all the secondary histories of the "Seven Years' War." It was a brilliant feat of arms successfully carried out by the friendly coöperation of military and naval officers despatched from the East India Company's military post of Fort St. George at Madras. When the expedition was planned in London by Colonel Draper, afterwards better known as Sir William Draper, and as the controversialist whose name appears so often in the "Letters of Junius," it was agreed that the burden of expense should fall upon the East India Company. Hence the Directors of the Company in London sent instructions to the Governor and Council at Madras to coöperate in every possible way with General Draper and Rear-Admiral Cornish, commanding His Majesty's ships on that station. But at the same time the Directors of the East India Company in London sent orders that the military and naval expedition was to be provided with a civil establishment for the taking over of the direct administration of

what should be conquered in the Philippine Islands as soon as the capture of Manila was completed.

The Company's civil servant, appointed to the position of deputy and provisional governor of Manila, was Mr. Dawsonne Drake, with whose troubled experiences as English governor of Manila and the Philippine Islands this paper is concerned.

The material for this unrelated episode in the history of the East India Company and the Philippine Islands is contained in the papers preserved in the Record Office at Madras of the Presidency of Fort St. George. Through the kindness of Mr. H. Dodwell, Curator of Records at Fort St. George, Madras, transcripts of the series of manuscript documents, known as the "Manila Records," were recently obtained. Upon the basis of these transcripts it has not only been possible to draw up a complete account of the expedition to the Philippine Islands in 1762, in much more detail than could be obtained from English and Spanish sources, but there was also developed the story of the strange career and unfortunate surroundings of Mr. Dawsonne Drake.

The volumes of transcripts may be summarized under the following heads:

(*a*) Diaries and Consultations of the Deputy-Governor and Council of Manila, being the minutes of the meetings of the Council for carrying on the civil government together with all communications received and sent by the Deputy-Governor and Council at Manila.[1]

(*b*) Diaries and Military Consultations of the Deputy-Governor and Council of Manila, which are similar to the records kept by the civil government but concerning things military.[2]

(*c*) Letters to Manila, being a file of official letters received at Manila from miscellaneous sources.[3]

(*d*) Letters from Manila, being a file of official letters despatched by the Deputy-Governor and Council of Manila.[4]

(*e*) Report of the investigation into the conduct of Dawsonne

[1] *Diaries and Consultations of Dawsonne Drake Esq., Deputy Gov. etc. and Council of Manila* (Manila Records, vols. 1, 6, 23, 10, 27, 28, 26).
[2] *Ibid.*, vols. 2, 5, 7, 9, 9*a*.
[3] *Letters to Manila* (Manila Records, vol. 4).
[4] *Letters from Manila* (Manila Records, vol. 3).

Drake, Deputy-Governor of Manila, together with all the evidence gathered during the investigations.[1]

These records form the very best sort of primary historical material; they are not only contemporary, but official. While giving a complete account of what happened at Manila, they also contain the details of the administration of the East India Company officials from an important point of view, for the account of events and the judgments passed were in the nature of reports submitted to masters, and, therefore, liable to correction and appeal. Although the basis of the story of Dawsonne Drake's governorship is to be found in the Manila Records at Madras, these have been carefully checked and supplemented by transcripts made in the London Record Office and the British Museum,[2] of the reports sent to the War Office, the Admiralty Office, the Colonial Office, etc., by the military and naval commanders who served with or under Deputy-Governor Drake, and who made the usual reports, as well as bitter complaints of the unwarranted treatment of soldiers and sailors holding His Majesty's commission by a mere civil servant of a company of traders.

In order to see the other side of the story an examination has been made of the Spanish documents[3] dealing with the loss of Manila and the governorship of Dawsonne Drake; but detailed use has not been made of them in this paper, which is intended rather to show the difficult position of an English governor of the Philippine Islands one hundred and fifty years ago, than to present a minute account of the struggle between the English and the Spaniards.

The difficulties in which Mr. Drake found himself involved soon after he took over the government of Manila were due as much to the nature of his position as to any weakness of tem-

[1] *Military Sundry Book: Proceedings containing the investigation made by order of the Court of Directors into the conduct of Dawsonne Drake, Esq. Deputy Gov., etc. of Manila* (Manila Records, vol. 34).

[2] For a calendar of these documents see K. C. Leebrick, *The English Expedition to Manila in 1762, and the Government of the Philippine Islands by the East India Company* (pp. 229–279). This is a manuscript thesis in the University of California Library. These documents have been quoted as "Miscellaneous Documents No. 200" etc.

[3] The Spanish documents are calendared in the same manner as the Miscellaneous Documents and are quoted here as "Spanish Documents, No. 1" etc. They consist in the main of copies made in the Archivo General de Indias at Sevilla, Spain. See K. C. Leebrick, *The English Expedition to Manila in 1762*, p. 230.

perament or conduct; a trading company commanding troops was sure to lead to trouble. Even in the early history of the factories at what afterwards became the important Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, there are many stories of disputes between the merchants and soldiers in the seventeenth century. As soon as the Company's soldiers grew beyond being mere police guards, and military commands in the Company's service were conferred upon the officers, the ineradicable tendency of the man of war to condemn the man of peace showed itself. The well-brought-up merchant, accustomed to business methods and to having his time fully occupied in keeping his books and preparing the purchases for the Company's interests, had little respect for the military officer who despised business and did not understand its details. But the situation became worse when the royal troops and ships commanded by officers bearing royal commissions were sent out to India to defend the East India Company's possessions. It seemed intolerable to these gentlemen that they should have to obey the orders of mere merchants commissioned by the Honorable East India Company; and they also had their quarrels on the side with the commanders of the Company's forces. The characteristic English tendency to subordinate the military to the civil officials marks the entire history of the East India Company in India, but this policy was marked by the constant recurrence of the reluctance of the military men to accept the situation. From the first moment, as will be seen, that Mr. Drake took over the governorship of the Philippine Islands, he had to deal with the constant opposition of His Majesty's military and naval officers left at Manila to protect the new conquest.

But that was not all. The Directors of the Honorable East India Company seldom trusted their individual servants, because they believed in the commission form of government from the very first. All of their factories, not only the great Presidencies at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, but also the smaller factories like Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast and Fort Marlborough on the Island of Sumatra were always intrusted to a governor and a council of two or more members. The governor was indeed the recognized chief executive, but he could do nothing without

laying his plans, his orders, and his despatches before an advisory council, which was often at open variance with his policy and his person. The classic instance of the struggle between a governor and his councillors is that so wonderfully given by Lord Macaulay in his essay on Warren Hastings.[1] Sometimes a governor was able to get rid of some of his councillors by using his command of the military forces, but sometimes the councillors overcame the governor, as in the case of George, Lord Pigot, the very man who superintended the despatch of the expedition to Manila, but who afterwards in 1771, on his reappointment to Madras, was imprisoned by his council and died in confinement.

If in peaceful times in India a chief executive had to maintain his authority against his own councillors, against the officers of the Company's forces and above all against the officers of the royal forces, it can be well understood that a governor appointed to take charge of the administration of a new conquest would need to be a man of most extraordinary capacity to keep the peace with his councillors and his naval and military officers, in addition to extending the sway of the Honorable Company. This was Mr. Drake's duty; for, after the conquest of Manila, he was expected to extend the Company's control over all the Spanish settlements in the Philippine Islands. It was also Mr. Drake's business to handle a complicated financial situation, for he had not only to administer the conquest but to make it pay; and he had to make it pay not only in taxes but through the promotion of the East India Company's trade. He had not only to face the government of a city still occupied by Spanish officials and citizens, but had to deal with the difficult religious situation which was presented by the influence of the Catholic clergy and particularly of the friars in the Philippine Islands. He had not only to deal with the Spanish civil and military officers and the clergy, but also with various peoples of Malay origin, from the comparatively civilized population about Manila to the savage Mohammedan Moros of Sulu or Jolo. He had also to learn to understand the curious questions presented by the Chinese quarter of Manila and the activities of the Chinese merchants and artisans. These and

[1] Macaulay, T. B., *Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems* (Boston, 1880, 3 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 554–657.

many other matters formed a sufficient basis for innumerable difficulties even for a trained and highly competent administrator, well versed in the Spanish language and the traditions of the church and government of His Most Catholic Majesty in the Philippine Islands.

But the position fell, not to an expert in administration, in finance, in war, and in diplomacy, but to a very simple minded Company's civil servant who was born in Madras and who seems to have lived all his life in India. Mr. Henry Dodwell, the Curator of Madras Records, in a letter dated at Madras, May 4, 1915, writes that Dawsonne Drake "was the son of George Drake (I believe a Company's servant) and Sophia, née Bugden and was born at Madras in 1724." [1] The name of Drake is frequently met with in the lists of the East India Company's servants during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One Drake was governor of Fort William or Calcutta in 1756, and fled away from the city, leaving it at the mercy of the young Nabob by whose command was perpetrated the tragedy of the "Black Hole of Calcutta." Another Drake was a director of the East India Company for twenty years, from 1738 to 1758; [2] and, indeed, from the mild treatment, to say the least of it, which was meted out to the English governor of the Philippine Islands after his troublesome experiences there, it might be assumed that he possessed powerful influence in the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London. The peculiar spelling of his first name, "Dawsonne," probably indicates his relationship with another director of the East India Company, William Dawsonne, who held office from 1710 to 1722.[3]

Mr. Drake was born at Madras in 1724, according to Mr. Dodwell's statement, and it is stated in Prinsep's *Record of Services of Madras Civilians*,[4] that Dawsonne Drake was appointed a Writer in the East India Company's Madras Civil Service at the age of eighteen, in 1742. He was probably educated in England, like most of his contemporaries, but may never have left India;

[1] A letter from Mr. H. Dodwell, Madras Record office, May 4, 1915 in my possession; a copy is appended to vol. 34 of Manila Records.
[2] Prinsep, C. C., *Record of Services of the Honorable East India Company's Civil Servants in the Madras Presidency from 1741 to 1858* (London, 1885), p. XII.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. XII. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

but even if educated in England he was not likely to have been very highly instructed, since the entire test imposed for a Writership in the East India Company's service in the early part of the eighteenth century was, as we know from the biographies of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, confined to simple bookkeeping and handwriting. Mr. Drake continued in the Company's service and got into trouble in 1755 as a young man of thirty-one with thirteen years as a civil servant to his credit, for Mr. Dodwell writes:[1] "Before his Manilla affair he had already been dismissed by the Madras Council; that was in 1755, when he was Chief at Devikotai (or Devikota) on the coast of Tanjore. It was desired to send supervisors to set straight the administration of the west coast of Sumatra, where irregularities were chronic. That post was looked upon as extremely unhealthful and Drake, when ordered to go, refused on the plea of ill health. The Council dismissed him, but the Company reinstated him."

It is a curious commentary upon this episode in Dawsonne Drake's life that he should have eventually got his little niche in history by being sent to the Philippine Islands after refusing to go to Sumatra, and that he should have been suspended from his seat in Council by the Madras officials in 1767, and once again reinstated by orders of the Directors of the East India Company in London, in 1768.[2]

General Draper interpreted his "Instructions"[3] to mean that as soon as Manila was captured, the capitulation arranged and the proper invoices taken, he should promptly deliver the government of the city over to the civil servants of the Honorable East India Company, who accompanied the expedition for that purpose. He accordingly gave notice on the first of November, 1762, twenty-five days after the storming of the city, that he would turn the government over to them on the following day. Mr. Drake and his council were particular to stipulate according to their "Instructions," that they would not accept the government unless they were to receive absolute control. General Draper informed them that he had given no orders which limited their authority, and on

[1] Mr. H. Dodwell's Letter, May 4, 1915. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 2.

November 2, 1762, the city of Manila and the Philippine Islands were delivered over "in every respect upon the same footing with the Hon'ble Company's Possessions in India," in the following manner: "Mr. Drake attended by the Council was conducted by him [General Draper] to the Royal Palace and the Artillery Saluting with 15 Guns was there declared Governor of Manillia and all its Dependancies in the presence of the Officers of the Garrison, His Excellency the Archbishop, the late Governor, with his Royal Audience and the Principal Inhabitants of the City." [1] Governor Drake was associated with a council of four, consisting of John Lewin Smith, Henry Brooke, Claud Russel, and Samuel Johnson, all of whom had been in the service of the Company at Madras for a considerable length of time.[2]

Although Deputy-Governor Drake had been very careful to have General Draper publicly declare that the agents of the East India Company were possessed of all the powers of government at Manila and that the military and naval forces left there were under his command, disputes broke out almost immediately between him and the royal officers. This constituted a constant annoyance to Mr. Drake and often made his position very difficult. The first act of the new government was to inform Admiral Cornish, at Cavite, of the transfer of the place to them and to pay to him the same compliment as to Draper by offering to an officer of his nomination the command of the naval base and of Cavite.[3] Admiral Cornish asked for the command for himself,[4] which pleased the governor and council who by this means were able for a time to rid themselves of the government of this detached post. At the same time the Admiral objected to their taking charge of the government at Manila because General Draper had acted without his consent, and on the ground that the conquest was not complete,[5] and thus a dispute was created which was never cleared away. Many misunderstandings and violent

[1] Manila Records, vol. 1, p. 17.

[2] Henry Brooke was appointed a writer in the Madras Civil Service in 1751; Claud Russel and John Lewin Smith in 1752; and Samuel Johnson in 1754. See Prinsep, C. C., *Record of Services of the Honorable East India Company's Servants in the Madras Presidency.* Also see *Selections from the Military Consultations of 1762* (Madras), general Nos. 16 and 17. Extracts from the military consultations of 1762 containing "instructions" for the deputy-governor and council of Manila, as well as "further instructions."

[3] Manila Records, vol. 1, p. 18. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 67. [5] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 28.

differences occurred between these two officials. The first of these was over the four million dollars agreed upon in the terms of capitulation of Manila as a ransom to save the city from a systematic looting. The Spaniards were slow in paying the money; and as time dragged on, Admiral Cornish became impatient and wished to use drastic measures, such as forcing the Chinese to contribute, and a thorough looting of Manila, Cavite, and the near-by towns, if the Spaniards did not at once make good the full amount of the ransom.[1] Governor Drake with extreme difficulty forced Admiral Cornish to give up these plans and then only by a threat of using force. Every opportunity to accuse and oppose each other was eagerly seized after this; an attack on a village near Cavite by the Admiral's orders to dislodge Spanish troops was magnified by Mr. Drake into a systematic plundering expedition, undertaken in a spirit of vengeance. All requests by the authorities at Manila for help or coöperation from His Majesty's fleet were first refused and only secured, if at all, by repeated and earnest petition; but generally they were met with sharp refusals and plenty of advice upon how to handle the situation. When Admiral Cornish began to prepare to take the fleet to India he was requested by Governor Drake to leave some of the ships for their protection. This he refused to do. The entire civil and military councils petitioned him to aid them; they wrote that "the great dependence we have upon your experienced Zeal for the service leaves us no room to doubt; the necessity of keeping open the Communication with Cavita and aiding the adjacent Islands by the appearance of a naval Force must have occurr'd to you in its strongest light."[2] To this letter Admiral Cornish testily replied: "I have this moment received your very extraordinary Letter; . . . without giving the President and Council leave to Judge of my Zeal for the public service I am to acquaint you that in Consequence of my Instructions, when the squadron is refitted, I shall proceed with my whole Force to Madras."[3] This matter was finally arranged so that a small naval force was left. A fresh altercation broke out a little later over M. Faillet, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, who

[1] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 146. [2] Manila Records, vol. 3, p. 22.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28.

had become the companion and advisor of Mr. Drake. He had written a letter to a friend in Batavia [1] which threw aspersions upon the Admiral; this and other derogatory information led Cornish to the demand that M. Faillet be arrested and delivered to him to carry to Madras for trial. The governor refused this peremptory request, which resulted in a quarrel that lasted throughout the English occupation of Manila, and so angered Admiral Cornish that he tried to stir up trouble among the Chinese [2] before his departure for Madras. Upon his arrival at that place he not only laid charges against Mr. Drake but also sent complaints to England.

This dispute with Admiral Cornish over M. Faillet led to a more severe quarrel between Mr. Drake and Major Fell of the 79th Regiment, the commandant at Manila. As a result of the Admiral's representations to the Madras officials, orders were sent [3] to Mr. Drake to arrest M. Faillet and deliver him to Captain Brereton of H.M.S. *Falmouth*. When the order arrived, the news reached Faillet in time for him to escape before Mr. Drake could send him aboard. He was finally captured and imprisoned, but as a result of promises and petitions, Governor Drake and his council voted not to send him on board H.M.S. *Falmouth*, but to send him to Madras in a Company's ship, because of the quarrel with Captain Brereton.

Major Fell and Captain Brereton agreed that the prisoner should be secured even if force were necessary, and orders were given by Major Fell to Captain Du Pont of the 79th Regiment to secure M. Faillet and deliver him to a lieutenant on a boat sent to receive him.[4] This order was shown to Mr. Drake who ordered that it should not be executed, and called a council meeting which determined to place Major Fell under arrest,[5] and to place Captain Backhouse in command of the 79th Regiment. That evening after M. Faillet had been forcibly removed to H.M.S. *Falmouth*, Captain Faisan of the 79th Regiment, officer of the day, acting under orders from Governor Drake, tried to place Major Fell under arrest. He met with resistance and retired to the Royal Palace to consult with Mr. Drake, who with other officers returned with

[1] Manila Records, vol. 4, pp. 1–5, 8–11, 19.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 34, p. 179.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 19.
[4] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 128.
[5] Manila Records, vol. 15, p. 722.

him to the parade ground. They approached Major Fell and a quarrel took place, during which the governor drew his sword and Major Fell, failing to draw his, snatched a gun from one of the soldiers. It was with difficulty that the two were separated before they had harmed each other. Major Fell escaped to Cavite where he later was taken prisoner and gave his word of honor to proceed to Madras for trial.[1] Captain Brereton was anxious to use the force at his disposal to liberate Major Fell, but was prevented from doing so by the Major himself. Mr. Drake says in speaking of this affair: "Major Fell's orders to Captain Dupont were such as cannot be justified. They carry mutiny throughout.[2] The conduct of Major Fell was universally condemned and his parting words to some of the supra cargoes of Canton shewed his despair of an acquittal, and I believe it is no secret he was very sensible of his Error before he arrived at Madras." [3] After Major Fell's departure, Mr. Drake secured the upper hand again for a time.

Captain Brereton of H.M.S. *Falmouth*, left by Admiral Cornish in charge of the squadron at Cavite, also had difficulties with Mr. Drake over this same question. Captain Brereton wrote to Mr. Drake regarding the imprisonment of M. Faillet: "If you have any Honor, or hope to have Your Word given any Credit to, I expect you will immediately cause the said Mr. Faillet to be given up." [4] To which Governor Drake replied: "You may tell Captain Brereton that when he learns how to write with more Politeness and Respect and as becoming a Gentleman to another, he may expect to have Letters answered and paid some attention to, but till he does he may expect that himself and his correspondence will be treated with the Contempt they deserve." [5] As a result of this difference Captain Brereton resigned the government of Cavite which he had held since Admiral Cornish departed on 2 March, 1763, and thus threw the control of that detached post upon the governor again. It was a constant source of trouble to him after this time.[6] The spirit of hostility continued to exist between the commander of the royal fleet and

[1] Miscellaneous Documents, Nos. 138, 139, 140, 147, 200, also Manila Records, vol. 6. [2] Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 779. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 780.
[4] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 127. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 146.
[6] Manila Records, vol. 5, pp. 630–637.

Governor Drake; they checkmated each other on every possible occasion. An appeal from the governor for a ship to cruise off Corregidor, for a Spanish vessel rumored to be bringing arms from China for the Spaniards was answered by a refusal and the reply: "I think it vain to look for this Trumpery Vessell." [1] A request to meet in council with him, brought the response: "I have no kind of ambition to be in your councils." [2] Captain Brereton interfered with the deputy-governor's Chinese policy and threatened to write to Madras about it, "wherefore the affair was hushed up. He (Drake) however meditated Revenge and set Mr. Nodes (Deputy Paymaster at Cavite) to work to find out if I was not a Bird of the Same Feather and if Possible to collect matter to pick a hole in my Coat," [3] says Captain Brereton. Mr. Nodes did report to Governor Drake that the Captain was illegally licensing gambling and the sale of liquor. He even went so far as to report his table conversation, after which he summarizes by saying: "I cannot, Sir, at present call to mind any further particulars, nor can I add anything further on this Head, only to assure you that his common conversation seemed always to estimate that you were fools and Idiots and know very little how to act in your stations." [4]

Mr. Drake was with difficulty restrained by his council from taking up these charges made in private conversation,[5] and he in turn asserts that Captain Brereton "not only went himself frequently to the Parian and other Places solliciting the Spanish etc. to Libel Me and accuse Me, But also employed others in this most commendable (*sic*) office." [6] This hostility lasted as long as they were at Manila, and there is some truth in Governor Drake's charge that it was through Captain Brereton's machinations that the council forced him to resign just before the evacuation of Manila.[7] During his trial for his conduct at Manila, Mr. Drake says: "I am concerned to find any man so inveterate against another as Captain Brereton seemed to be against me." [8] And that "the spleen of Captain Brereton has hurried him beyond the Bounds of civility among men and his bitter Revenge made

[1] Manila Records, 9, pp. 104, 112.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 123, 124.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 34, pp. 247.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 647.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 649.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 34, p. 326.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 34, pp. 5–14.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 34, p. 319.

him run about Like a Devouring Lion seeking by means and motives the most unjustifiable to ruin my character." [1]

After getting on rather well with Captain Backhouse, who became commander of the 79th Regiment after the departure of Major Fell on 3 October, 1763, for many months, Governor Drake failed to agree with him any better than with Admiral Cornish, Major Fell, or Captain Brereton. Mr. Drake on 10 March, 1764, after arrangements for the turning of Manila over to the Spaniards were practically arranged, desired Captain Backhouse to send a part of the 79th Regiment to India and to leave the rest at Manila to guard the Sepoy troops. This Captain Backhouse said his orders would not allow him to do,[2] which brought on a deadlock of authority. Nine days later, Captains Backhouse and Brereton agreed to ignore the deputy-governor and to carry on arrangements to embark as rapidly as possible. Thus on 19 March, 1764, Captain Backhouse withdrew his troops from the outpost of Pasig and turned the city over to the Spanish representative, to which the governor objected vigorously. A little later Mr. Drake learned that Captains Backhouse and Brereton were dealing directly with the Spanish commissioners for the evacuation of Manila; they were called to account for this and Captain Backhouse replied that he had received orders from his "Royal Lord the King with regard to this Conquest. They shall be impartially obeyed leaving you to dispute the Validity of them with His Majesty." [3] These orders were demanded and, when refused, Captain Backhouse was ordered under arrest for "his Refusal to obey and his many other illegal and extraordinary Proceedings." [4] A party was sent to take him but meeting with resistance returned without accomplishing their mission. That night, 25 March, 1764, Captain Backhouse was dragged from his bed and confined in the citadel [5] by a party led by Lieutenant Richbell of the 79th Regiment, who had been bribed by Mr. Drake to carry out his orders.[6] Captain Backhouse was kept a prisoner until the governor was overthrown by his council on 28 March, 1764, when he

[1] Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 321.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 183–200.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 252; Miscellaneous Documents, No. 200.
[6] Miscellaneous Documents, Nos. 166–214.

resumed his liberty and proceeded to evacuate Manila without giving any heed to the protests of the agents of the East India Company. In his long report to the Secretary at War, the Captain says: "Give me Leave my Lord to assure you, that the command of His Majesty's Troops in Manila with Mr. Drake was a Hell too severe to be endured by human nature; where anything good reigned in the Composition, there a heart the least tinctured with honour, honesty, or the love of his Country, must have been ever upon the Rack, by the arbitrary Scenes of injustice and oppression incessantly practised by Mr. Drake." [1]

These illustrations show that Mr. Drake had trouble with all the military and naval commanders, and other instances could be given to show that it was not only the superior officers that added to Governor Drake's burdens. It is also noticeable that these men all got along well with each other and almost every one else, except the East India Company's governor.

Mr. Drake's troubles were not confined to these differences with the English royal officials. From the very first day he took charge at Manila he had difficulties with the Spaniards. Archbishop Rojo, acting governor and captain-general, was almost the only Spanish official with whom he remained on good terms, and that was because the Archbishop did everything he was asked to do by the English authorities. It was far different with Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, a member of the Royal Audiencia who had been sent from Manila a few days prior to the taking of the city by storm, with the title of Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General and Visitor to the Provinces,[2] by the governor and Audiencia for the purpose of keeping the people loyal to the King of Spain. It was the natural policy of the English not to recognize this title and the authority to carry on an opposition government, especially since the Spanish governor insisted that Señor Anda should obey the terms of the capitulation arranged after the fall of Manila. This Anda refused to do. He organized an opposition party and army at Bulacan and staunchly defended a great part of the Island of Luzon against the English forces, and often

[1] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 200.

[2] Spanish Documents, No. 4; Blair, E. H., and Robertson, James, *The Philippine Islands*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, 1907). Volume 49 covers this period very fully; almost every volume of the Manila Records bears on this dispute.

threatened Manila itself. Mr. Drake's failure to come to any agreement with Señor Anda made his position precarious. He had not only to govern a new conquest, but to defend it, and before establishing his rule throughout the island had to reduce Anda to obedience. When this rebellious leader was so successful as to surround Manila and prevent supplies from reaching the town, Governor Drake's plight was serious. He attempted to extricate himself by sending out small expeditions and by appealing to the natives to observe the capitulation. Señor Anda was declared a traitor and later a reward of $5000 was offered for his capture alive.[1] The Spanish reply was in kind, only more severe, for Anda offered $10,000 for the heads of Governor Drake and Councillors Smith and Brooke, who had signed the offer of reward with Governor Drake. This attitude was maintained throughout their relations; petty quarrels interfered with public justice, and finally prevented either party from recognizing the validity of the Preliminaries of Peace when they arrived on 23 July, 1763; so that hostilities were not ended until after the definitive treaty of peace reached Manila on 8 March, 1764. All the hardships and difficulties of actual war were thus prolonged for many months. Mr. Drake's commissioners failed to make terms with those appointed by Señor Anda. A deadlock and further complications were prevented only by the arrival of Don Francisco de la Torre from Mexico on 17 March, 1764, with a commission as governor and captain-general of the Philippine Islands.[2] He was at once recognized and negotiations opened with him; but again disagreements arose which led Governor de la Torre to write to Captains Brereton and Backhouse, asking them to treat with his commissioners directly and arrange for a speedy evacuation of Manila.[3] At the same time he accused Mr. Drake and council of misusing his bounty in supplying provisions for the embarkation by selling them. He writes: "I am perfectly well informed by the citizens of Manila as [well as] by the Commissioners I have appointed, that your Worships are actually selling Rice . . . you are to know that this government should

[1] Manila Records, vol. 5, pp. 67–75; Spanish Documents, Nos. 5, 11.
[2] Spanish Documents, Nos. 9, 10, 11; Miscellaneous Documents, No. 200.
[3] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 200.

afford you Provisions only by way of Hospitality and not to sell them." [1]

The Spanish residents of Manila gave Governor Drake as much trouble as their officials; they constantly deceived him, hid the treasure which they had promised to pay on the ransom, furnished supplies and information to the malcontents in the provinces; and when it suited their purpose, broke their paroles and joined Señor Anda. Mr. Drake failed entirely to master the situation although he had plenty of advice from his council and the royal officers.

The clergy were as troublesome as the rest, and although they had promised General Draper to aid in keeping the peace and to observe the capitulation, they soon took advantage of Mr. Drake and with few exceptions used their influence to make the English situation in the Philippines intolerable. The friars especially were the backbone of the Spanish resistance; they organized and led the native forces that all but forced the evacuation of Manila before the definitive treaty of peace arrived.

With the natives of the Philippine Islands Governor Drake was no more successful than he was with the Europeans. They gave him less worry, but that was partly because there were few leaders among them and because he never tried to deal with them personally. It was the military officers in the field and the subordinate officials at Manila who came into direct contact with the natives.

The Chinese residents of the Islands who lived mostly in the Parian, the Chinese quarter of Manila, presented as many problems as they did in California a few years ago. General Draper had solved the difficulty by placing a Mr. Kennedy, an Englishman long a resident of Manila and familiar with the Chinese, in charge of their quarter. Mr. Drake continued Mr. Kennedy in office, but was not able to keep clear of the difficulties presented by the government of the Chinese. Charges were soon made by Mr. Kennedy and others against the Chinese captain. Mr. Drake started to investigate which led him into interference that was made more intricate by cross complaints and charges made to Admiral Cornish, Major Fell, and some of the councillors;

[1] Manila Records, vol. 9, pp. 238–239.

unanimity of policy was thus made impossible. According to their customs and with his approval the Chinese voted a present to the English governor. Mr. Kennedy did not see fit to turn over the entire amount collected, which led to an altercation that made it impossible for Mr. Drake to get along with the only man who could govern the Chinese, and his greed of gain gave plenty of opportunity for criticism. He is charged with having received $2000 as a gift from the Chinese and applying for the remainder of the $5000 voted by them; with receiving $2500 for the contract for the rent of the Arrack Farm, and that he received money for granting a monopoly for the sale of pork.[1] But these charges were not due to the Chinese alone, for Mr. Kennedy, when examined, says: "I then remember that the above Gentlemen (Messrs. Smith and Brooke) and Captain Stephenson (*sic*) animated me much not to spare you [Mr. Drake]. They must have suspected that I knew of some mal Practices of yours, but I told them as I now Declare I never knew of any." [2] The committee which investigated Mr. Drake's conduct says also that the "veracity of the Chinese is little to be regarded." [3] Mr. Jourdan, one of the members of the Council, charged Mr. Drake with seeking the emoluments secured heretofore by the Spanish governor from the Chinese, which brought on such a dispute that the council informed the governor "that if he persisted in adopting such measures as they could not approve of he must be governor alone, which he informed them he would," [4] and Mr. Kennedy adds later in summing up his treatment by Mr. Drake, "it's incredible the Things I've heard of the Triumverate (*sic*) that I may say governed much in Manila without Regard to Honour or Honesty, to the Discredit of the Nation and the Hon. Company." [5]

All these difficulties might have been met by a unity of action among the agents of the East India Company; but this was not the case. It would be hard to find a more divided government than that of the Honorable East India Company at Manila. It was

[1] Manila Records, vol. 34, pp. 613–627.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 627.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 784.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 599, Mr. Kennedy to Francis Jourdan, 29 November 1765; the Triumvirate he mentions was supposed to consist of M. Faillet, Señor Orendain, and Governor Drake. See Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 600.

impossible for the governor and council to agree; they differed on almost every issue and to prevent further difficulties the councillors had the good sense to resign. All four members of the council who were appointed to serve with Governor Drake resigned in a short time. Samuel Johnson resigned on 16 December, 1762, and Mr. Claud Russell on 18 December, 1762; both on the pretended ground of indisposition. Mr. Russell complains of "Swellings in his Feet" and declares that "the greater Part of his Liver was consumed." [1] On 20 February, 1763, Mr. Smith requested leave to resign on account of ill health and pressure of his private business, and on 28 February, 1763, Mr. Brooke "requested to leave because of the ruinous state of affairs upon the Coast [which] required his Presence there." [2] Of the three men appointed to fill these vacancies, Captain Stevenson, Messrs. Parsons, and Francis Jourdan,[3] the latter asked to resign on 2 May, 1763, on "account of an Inflamation of his Liver," [4] which request was refused. Captain Backhouse sums up the situation from the side of the councillors in these words: "The four Councillors who were appointed by the Precedency (*sic*) of Fort St. George left Manila very soon, being quickly tired of their President, Mr. Drake." [5] Mr. Jourdan often defied Governor Drake openly in council and would say "put it to a Vote, we'll Let you know we have a vote as well as you," [6] and upon one occasion Captain Stevenson and Mr. Jourdan "came running to the Palace . . . and hinted the suspending me [Drake] a Power they insisted upon it was vested in them." [7]

Governor Drake speaks of his council as "These refined youths," [8] "young and inexperienced Servants," [9] "Spoiled Boys" and "A Parcell of Boys who though they acquitted themselves well in their former stations yet by the sudden Change to the Present, forgetting the past, proud of their Consequences, and puffed up with vanity they usurped an authority over me." [10] Regarding the excuses for their resignations he says: "Whilst I sat Innocent at Home meditating the affairs of My Hon'ble Mas-

[1] Manila Records, vol. 34, pp. 16–18.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 265, vol. 6, p. 661.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 18, 19, vol. 34, p. 334.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 34, p. 266.
[5] Miscellaneous Documents, No. 200.
[6] Manila Records, vol. 34.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 336.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 775.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 267, 268.

ter's The Counsellors not withstanding their terrible state of Health were able to move about Town and influence declamatory persons to asperse my character." [1]

The disputes between the governor and his councillors reached the acute stage several times, but upon each occasion they yielded and allowed matters to drift along. At the last their patience gave out and on 28 March, 1764, they called the governor before them, and read a long list of charges that had been made against him. They informed him that since Captain Brereton and the Spanish governor had refused to treat with him for the evacuation of the Islands and that since the season was late, he should now resign in the interests of the Company and retire to one of the Company's ships.[2] This they forced him to do; after which Captains Backhouse and Brereton took the upper hand and proceeded to evacuate Manila and Cavite, so that in effect both the governor and his council were deposed.[3] Mr. Drake says of his forced resignation: "The whole Proceeding was entirely a plot of Captain Brereton which was executed by my counsellors to their eternal shame, having served as Instruments or Tools to bring about his malicious Purposes."[4] We agree with Mr. Drake that the scene presented leaves the impression upon our minds of a "Garrison full of Faction and Plots, a People seized with Phrenzy and madness of a Party zeal," [5] and also with Mr. Jourdan that although "Mr. Drake lays the whole Fault on the Company's Servants, . . . It is scarcely to be imagined Mr. Drake had none other than unreasonable People to deal with, or that all should have been his Enemies." [6] Perhaps Dawsonne Drake was also right when he said there never was so "Shocking [a] Place as Manila, the Capital, I believe of the world for Scandal and Corruption." [7]

Dawsonne Drake's troubles were not over when he was forced to retire from the government of Manila; he involved himself in many ways on the journey to Madras, and upon his arrival at home he found that he was denied his seat in the council until

[1] Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 280.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 26, pp. 5–14; vol. 9, pp. 199–290.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 26, pp. 5–18; also Miscellaneous Documents, No. 200.
[4] Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 340.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 410.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 562. Mr. Jourdan, 18 August, 1766, to Madras President and Council.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 497.

his conduct at Manila could be investigated and reported upon. This was due to the charges which had been sent to the King and the Honorable Company. The latter ordered the president and council at Madras to investigate the charges and report.[1] The proceedings of this committee of investigation show that they were very thorough and seemed to be entirely disinterested and fair.[2] They found him guilty on many charges and innocent or not proven guilty on many others. They report that "Mr. Drake disobeyed the orders sent from Madras regarding Monsieur Faillet," [3] that the "Consultations were not properly kept and the cash accounts mixed and that Mr. Drake should be held responsible for $4000 overcharge to the Paymaster at Cavite"; and that "he was guilty of carelessness," [4] that "unjustifyable measures were taken by officers over the Chinese for the collection of the Present of which Mr. Drake himself acknowledges to have received part," [5] that the committee was not sure of the charge regarding the Arrack Farm although it is proven that $10,250 was paid of which only $4900 was credited to the Company and that "Mr. Drake be held responsible for the balance;" [6] that "Governor Drake was guilty of creating a pork monopoly and receiving money for doing so." [7] They found him not guilty on most of the charges made by the Spaniards or were not convinced of his guilt.[8] Regarding the differences with his council they report that "The Council did not support and assist Mr. Drake in that critical juncture as they ought to have done"; and that "It is our opinion that the situation affairs seem to have been in, ought not to have induced Mr. Drake to have quitted his Government." [9] They also add in his defense the opinion that "We believe that diligent search was made for persons to exhibit complaints against Mr. Drake's conduct." [10]

The final decision was, "that he [Mr. Drake] is certainly guilty of some charges, especially that relating to the Chinese, that he be dismissed and sent to Europe." [11] This judgment was sent to

[1] Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 1, Mr. Dodwell's letter of May 4, 1915.
[2] The proceedings of the committee during this investigation and their findings make up vol. 34 of Manila Records, pp. 1–813.
[3] Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 605.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 606–609.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 613–620.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 627.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 626–646.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 659.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 647.
[11] Mr. Dodwell's letter of 4 May, 1915.

the Court of Directors of the East India Company at London which acted as follows: "Having with great attention read and considered your Proceedings upon the Enquiry we directed you to make into the Conduct of Mr. Dawsonne Drake the Deputy Governor and the Company's other servants at Manila, We find that in the Course of their administration there was a great want of harmony among them, discord with His Majesty's Officers, many irregularities in the management of the farms and much neglect in keeping the accounts, in all which Mr. Drake had too great a share to be passed over without some marks of our disapprobation; You are therefore to let him know it is our opinion he deserves a severe censure for his improper conduct; however in consideration of his long services, We do agree and accordingly direct that his suspension be taken off, and he be again admitted to the Council, but he is to be fixed as the Fourth Member therein, and never rise to an higher rank: and it is our further directions that he shall constantly reside at Madras." [1]

After having been reinstated according to the order secured by his friends on the Court of Directors, Mr. Drake appears in Prinsep as a member of the Council of the Governor from 1768 to 1771, when the record abruptly closes with the four short words: "out of the service 1771." [2] He seems to have obeyed the order of the directors to remain at Madras for he died, according to Mr. Dodwell,[3] in that city. Perhaps he was wise to spend his latter years in the city of his birth, for if he had returned to England he would undoubtedly have had to meet the charges of the various officers with whom he had so bitterly quarreled at Manila.

The first English governor of the Philippine Islands died, according to Mr. Dodwell, in 1781 at Madras, "leaving an estate sworn at about 100,000 Pagodas. His inventory includes, I remember, some old Spanish pictures — were these part of his

[1] Extract from the Public Despatch from the Court of Directors, dated London, 12–1–1768, To our President and Council, Fort St. George, Manila Records with vol. 34. Mr. Dodwell in his letter of 4 May, 1915, says: "I don't think the Company's acquittal amounts to anything either way. Few bodies have displayed so little of the judicial spirit as the Honorable East India Company between 1760 and, say 1790. You may perhaps wish to say the same about the Madras Council. But I think their condemnation less unlikely to have been mere personal feeling than the Company's acquittal."

[2] Prinsep, *Record of Services*, p. 46.

[3] Mr. Dodwell's letter of 4 May, 1915.

loot at Manila?" [1] And so passes the shadow of Dawsonne Drake, for a brief moment a figure of importance in a Spanish city on an Asiatic island, never again to come under English control, but to find itself instead the capital of the first Asiatic possession of the United States of America. May it be hoped that American governors of the Philippine Islands may pass their terms of service free from the troubles that surrounded the brief tenure of office of Dawsonne Drake, a Madras civil servant in the service of the Honorable East India Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies!

[1] Letter from Mr. Dodwell, 4 May, 1915. Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 243, speaks of pictures taken by Mr. Drake from the Governor's Palace and describes them as "3 Painted Pictures with glasses, 2 Square Pictures, little Less than half a yard each, in which were represented 2 ships in action, exquisite Pieces. Mr. Drake referres to them in his defense as 'a few painted Pictures of no value'" (Manila Records, vol. 34, p. 403).

THE CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES

WILLIAM L. SCHURZ

AFTER the failure of the plans for a Spanish spice monopoly in the East Indies, the introduction of trade with China determined the economic history of the Philippines for two and a half centuries. Each year the Chinese brought great quantities of silks and other rich commodities from Amoy and other ports to Manila, whence they were forwarded to Mexico by the famous Manila Galleon, or "China Ship." But the Chinese trade brought with it probably the most serious problem for the internal administration of the colony.[1] It is the first instance, on any considerable scale, of a Caucasian-Mongolian race question, with all the phases of social, economic, and political antagonisms that such a contact of peoples so different has only too often carried with it. It is a long tale of suspicious and morbid fears, of risings and sanguinary retaliations and expulsions, with years of quiescence between the periods of violence and panic. The Spaniards early realized the peril that accompanied the presence of so many Chinese in the city and took measures to prevent any disastrous consequences therefrom. For this reason Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo built the *Parian*, or quarter where the Chinese who remained in the city were required to remain.[2] However, before 1628 the Chinese

[1] On the Chinese in the Philippines see Berthold Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1907). This monograph is particularly valuable because of the use of Chinese materials. Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1887). Blumentritt's work is largely based on Gaspar de San Agustín and on the compilation from Mallat of Buzeta y Bravo. Jordana y Morera, *La inmigracion China en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1888). David P. Barrows, in *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903*, I, 479–491.

[2] "In this city were also some shops kept by Sangleys, who lived here in order to sell the goods which they kept here from year to year. These Sangleys were scattered among the Spaniards with no specific places assigned to them until Don Gonzalo Ronquillo allotted them a place to live in and to be used as a silk market (which is called here *Parian*), of four large buildings. Here many shops were opened, commerce increased and more Sangleys came to this city." Bishop Salazar to the King, June 24, 1590, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol 7, p. 220.

had begun to live outside the *Parian* "to the great danger of the Spanish population." [1] At this time Christian Chinese, or those married to Christians, were permitted to live in the quarter of Mindonoc, which, considering the usual motives for conversion, was a dangerous concession.[2] Chinese settled in the provinces surrounding Manila and were even more widely scattered about the islands.[3] Though the law required that the Chinese who came to Manila on the *champans* should return with them as soon as the favorable monsoon arose, after the discharge of the cargoes and their delivery to the *pancada* committee, this was early relaxed. Licenses were then required for permission to stay in Manila,[4] while the number of those who might stay was limited in 1620 to six thousand.[5] The number of those who might come in a single *champan* was also limited. The failure to enforce these restrictions brought about the condition which led to the extreme and violent expedient of expulsion. By 1588 there were ten thousand Chinese in Manila,[6] and when Morga sent twelve thousand back to China in 1596, he declared that as many more remained in the city.[7] Forty years later Grau y Monfalcón informed the King that there were about thirty thousand Chinese and Japanese in the city.[8] When such numbers are compared with the few hundred Spaniards in Manila the potential gravity of the situation for the latter is evident.

Although the Spanish policy throughout was uncertain and inconsistent, they early came to accept as almost a necessary and

[1] King to Audiencia, August 17, 1628, A. de I., 105–2–12.

[2] Anda declared that "even the padres" confess that the Chinese accept conversion only to be allowed to marry in Manila and to carry on business there. Anda to Arriaga, July 7, 1768, A. de I., 108–3–17. Converted Chinese were also exempted from the payment of tribute for ten years after conversion, and after that time paid at the low rate at which the natives were assessed. *Recopilación*, lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 7. This was issued by Philip IV, June 14, 1627.

[3] Pedro Calderón Enríquez to the Governor, June 16, 1741, A. de I., 68–5–16. Enríquez gives four thousand as the number of heathen Chinese in the *Parian;* there were also some in the *huertas* of Tondo and at Cavite.

[4] *Recopilación*, lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, ley I. "Que el número de los Chinos sea muy moderado, y no exceda de seis mil, pues estos bastan para servicio de la tierra, y pueden resultar de aumentarse los inconvenientes que se han experimentado . . . que los Chinos y Japones no sean tantos, y los que huviere vivan con quietud, temor y sujecion."

[6] Audiencia to the King, B. and R., vol. 6, p. 316.

[7] Morga to the King, July 6, 1596, B. and R., vol. 9, 266.

[8] King to Governor, February 29, 1636, A. de I., 105–2–12. In 1621 there were over 16,000 licensed Chinese in Manila and 5000 unlicensed. Governor Fajardo de Tenza to the King, September 21, 1621.

permanent part of the colony's life the presence of a limited number of Chinese.[1] Their skill and sober industry were needed in the trades and in the shop-keeping business of the city, which they virtually monopolized. Although they were to be duly restricted within the bounds of the *Parian,* considerable freedom of movement about the city seems to have been permitted during the day, but at night they were expected to retire to the *Parian.*[2] A *cédula* of the late date of 1780 granted royal sanction to this custom.[3]

Benevolent provisions were made to protect the rights of the Chinese, just as the famous New Laws were issued earlier to secure good treatment of the American Indians.[4] An *alcalde mayor* was appointed especially to administer the government of the *Parian,* while a Chinese official was permitted considerable jurisdiction in cases between Orientals.[5]

The Dominican friars exerted their great influence in favor of just treatment, and the governor was constituted the especial protector of the Chinese, with supreme authority in matters of government and administration.[6]

However, with the usual admirable legal provisions for safeguarding the rights of an "inferior" race, there was the same customary evasion by those interested in their violation. Spanish officials were often arbitrary in their treatment of the Chinese. The inspectors of the *champans* harassed the merchants with exactions,[7] and even went to the extent of removing the masts

[1] Morga, "Sucesos," B. and R., vol. 16, p. 195.
[2] *Recopilación,* lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 13.
[3] April 28, 1780, A. de I., 105–2–9.
[4] These comprise the larger part of the thirteen laws of the *Recopilación,* lib. 6, tit. 18, entitled: "De los Sangleyes," "Es justo, que viniendo esta gente á contratar, sea acariciada, y reciba buen acogimiento, para que llevando á sus tierras buenas nuevas de el trato, y acogida de nuestros vasallos, se aficionen otros á venir, y por medio de esta comunicacion reciban la Doctrina Christiana, y profesen nuestra Santa Fe Católica, á que se dirige nuestro principal deseo, é intencion. Mandamos á los Gobernadores, que vista la substancia de estos agravios, dén las órdenes necesarias, para que se remedien tales inconvenientes y no consientan, que sobre lo contenido en ellos, ni otros de ninguna calidad reciban los Chinos Sangleyes, ni qualesquier contratantes, agravio, molestia, ni vexacion, teniendo gran cuenta y cuidado con su buen tratamiento, y despacho, y de castigar á quien los ofendiere, ó agraviare." Ley 10.
[5] *Recopilación,* lib. 5, tit. 3, ley 24.
[6] *Recopilación,* lib. 2, tit. 15, ley 55.
[7] Instructions for Governor Tello, B. and R., vol. 9, p. 252. *Recopilación,* lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 3, entitled: "Que el Gobernador, y Audiencia de Filipinas provean quien visite las Naos de los Chinos, que allí llegaren." Bishop Salazar wrote in 1583 that the prices of Chinese goods had quadrupled because of the scarcity due

from the Chinese vessels and substituting inferior ones, with which it was impossible to make the return voyage.[1] The Chinese resorted to just what was expected of them, — wholesale bribery, — and the atmosphere of deceit and suspicion generated was unfavorable to the peaceful prosecution of trading relations. In the hands of the *alcaldes mayores*, the requirement that Chinese hold licenses of residence was a pretext for the frequent exaction of money for the renewal of these licenses.[2] The Spaniards believed that the merchant class, with their interest in order, could be depended on to show a passive endurance of these vexations, but the great mass of those who flocked to the islands in the train of the traders were a more uncertain and inflammable element in the situation.[3]

On one side, the confidence of numbers and discontent at very real grievances, and on the other, superior race pride and a panicky fear made collision almost inevitable. Chinese conspiracies and sudden risings, accompanied by loot and massacre, quickly followed by sanguinary repression by the small but effective Spanish force, and later by expulsion *en masse* of the Sangley remnant make up much of the history of the two races in the islands.[4] The Spanish terror of the descent on Manila of an overwhelming force from the Chinese mainland was in a measure justified by such events as the early sacking of Manila by Limahon,[5] the mysterious visit of the three Mandarins and the hoax of the hill of gold in 1594,[6] the killing of Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas by the

to the dislike of the Chinese to come to Manila, where they were subject to "annoying restrictions." B. and R., vol. 5, p. 39.

[1] *Recopilación*, lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 10. "Hemos sido informado que los Indios Sangleyes, que vienen á Filipinas á contratar desde la China, reciben agravios y malos tratamientos de los Espanoles."

[2] In 1628 a heathen Chinaman was legally required to pay sixty-four *reals*, or eight *pesos* for permission to remain in the islands, besides five *reals* as tribute, and twelve *reals* as house tax. King to Audiencia, June 8, 1628, A. de I., 105–2–12. "Se han aumentado los Chinos, por codicia de los ocho pesos que cada uno paga por la licencia." *Recopilación*, lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 1.

[3] Twenty-four Chinese merchants in a protest against an expulsion decree, said that the Chinese risings had been limited to the lower classes. "Los que se han sublevado han sido Sangleyes bagamundos y holgazanes, que los de trato y oficios nunca han cooperado en ello." They declared that the first risings had originated among Chinese who had left China in a time of confusion of Tartar and intestine wars and had sought to found an independent state in other parts, — a frequent motive of Viking attacks. C. 1687, A. de I., 108–3–17.

[4] Anda says there were fourteen risings in the history of the islands. Anda to Arriaga, July 7, 1768, A. de I., 67–3–34.

[5] Andrés de Mirandaola to the King, May 30, 1576, A. de I., 67–3–34.

[6] These three Chinese, who came to Manila — so they said — to investigate

rowers of his galley, and the threatening movements of the great pirate armament of Coxinga in 1662.[1] The withdrawal of most of the forces for operations against the Dutch often left the Spanish population in the city at the mercy of the Chinese. It was under such circumstances that the terrible rising of 1603 occurred.[2]

During these times of stress and interruption of the peaceful intercourse of the two peoples, the galleon trade would decline to very low proportions or even to temporary cessation. It was thus in one sense the barometer of conditions in the Philippines. On the other hand, the depression of the commerce, due to losses of galleons or a momentarily diminished demand in the American market, caused serious discontent among the Chinese in Manila.[3]

Unable to adjust peacefully the relations of the two races, the Spaniards resorted to the radical measures of expulsion and exclusion,[4] but the frequent repetition of this expedient shows what a temporary resource it was. The fears of the Spaniards quieted for the moment, the Chinese would begin to return, often welcomed by the Spaniards themselves. For the latter recognized the economic dependence of the colony on harmonious intercourse with the Chinese.[5] After the bloody rising and reprisals of 1603,

a mountain of gold, were reported to be forerunners of a great attack from China. Hieronimo de Salazar y Salcedo to the King, July 5, 1603, B. and R., vol. 12, p. 83.

[1] On this occasion the Spaniards abandoned their last port in the Moluccas to augment the forces for the defence of Manila.

[2] Governor Acuña to the King, December 18, 1603, B. and R., vol.12, p. 153. In 1621 the fleet could not quit Manila Bay to fight the Dutch, for fear of leaving the city unprotected against internal risings. Real Cédula, December 31, 1622, A. de I., 68–3–19.

[3] "La falta del comercio y espanoles ocasionó a los Sángleyes su levantamiento." City to the King, 1643, A. de I., 67–6–28.

[4] *Expediente sobre la espulsion de los Sangleyes; 1684–1744*, A. de I., 68–5–16; *Espediente y autos sobre la conversion y reducion de los Indios infieles y sublevacion de los Sangleyes; 1747–1751*, A. de I., 107–2–26. There is a great mass of material in a 934 page document in the former *legajo* (68–5–16), entitled: *Traslado autentico de la Rl Zédula de 30 de Mayo de 1734, en que su Magd previene y manda se forme una junta, en la que se trate y proponga las providencias que se devieren dar en órden á la expulzion de Sangleyes, con las diligenas executadas sobre su cumplimiento y auto mandado acomular á dha. Real Zédula.*

[5] The Audiencia informed the King, June 18, 1695, that it was impossible to expel the Chinese totally, in accordance with the cédula of November 14, 1686. "Absolutamente son los Sangleyes quienes mantienen las yslas por ser ellos en quienes recaen todas las cargas consexiles de abastos, mercancía y oficios por ser tan inútiles los naturales de las yslas que solo se inclinan á la ociosidad." The Chinese, they say, seem to have been born with an "especial influxo de habilidad para todo." A. de I., 68–5–16. The Frenchman, Mallat, declaring that the exclusion ordinances had never been enforced, said: "Il y a bien des gens qui les (the Chinese) croient necessaire á Manille, et qui sont d'avis que l'on ne pourrait pas passer d'eux." Mallat, *Les Philippines*, vol. 2, p. 144. The Chinese well knew how

Governor Acuña feared that the Chinese would not come again to Manila, "which," he declared, "would be of irreparable damage to this commonwealth." [1] Enlightened officials, like Hernando de los Ríos Coronel and Antonio de Morga, the latter of whom expelled twelve thousand in 1596, acknowledged that the city could not be maintained or preserved without the Sangleys.[2] After the expulsion of 1755, the Frenchman, Le Gentil said: "I did not know any Spaniards in Manila who did not sincerely regret the departure of the Chinese and who did not frankly admit that the Philippines would suffer for it." [3]

Religious influences, too, played their part in the expulsions, especially as they were dictated from the peninsula, but deportation for such motives was not favored by the lay population in the islands.[4] There was a conflict of interests here, for the main-

essential they were to the material welfare of the islands. Memorial of twenty-four Chinese of Manila to the Governor (1687), A. de I., 68–1–25.

[1] Governor Acuña to the King, December 18, 1603, A. de I., 67–6–7. Acuña wrote later: "this commonwealth has been greatly consoled at seeing that the Chinese have chosen to continue the commerce of which we were much in doubt." Acuña to the King, July 15, 1604, B. and R., vol. 13, p. 223.

[2] Rios Coronel to the King, B. and R., vol. 18, p. 308. Morga, Sucesos, B. and R., vol. 16, p. 195. Morga adds: "for they are the mechanics in all trades, and are excellent workmen, and work for suitable prices."

[3] Le Gentil, "Voyage," B. and R., vol. 51, p. 231. A remarkable feature of these racial difficulties is the singular indifference displayed by the Chinese government in the face of the maltreatment of its subjects, who left the Empire. They were held as ingrates, or even as traitors, to their country, and as such could expect no redress for persecution endured. Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 4, p. 62. This attitude was in marked contrast to that of the Japanese government which was quick to demand explanations and reparation for the harsh treatment of its subjects. In 1605 the "Visitador-General" of the province of Chincheo tried to arouse the Emperor to avenge the massacre of "30,000" Chinese in the rising of two years before. However, the lethargy and pacific inertia of the huge empire, the strong stand taken by Acuña, and the sending of an embassy which flattered, while it impressed, warded off whatever danger there may have been. The letter of the Chinese official and Acuña's reply are in the A. de I., 67–6–7. Recommending the vigorous enforcement of the expulsion decrees, the president of the Council declared that the Chinese resided in the Philippines against the prohibition of their own emperor. December 16, 1743, A. de I., 68–5–16. The *oidor*, Pedro Calderón Enríquez, said that the Emperor of China could not object to the expulsion of Chinese, for the exclusion policy followed toward foreigners in China only justified like treatment of the Chinese in the Philippines. Calderón Enriquez to the Governor, June 16, 1741, A. de I., 68–5–16. Berthold Laufer says, however, that the Chinese adopted their policy of exclusiveness from the Spaniards; and the rigor with which Spain kept foreigners from her dominions certainly shows that the Spanish could learn little from the Chinese in this regard. Laufer, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, p. 266. "The Spanish system of treating the Chinese became the model of the Chinese in their treatment of foreigners."

[4] A royal *cédula* of November 14, 1686, ordered all Chinese to be expelled within two months if they did not accept Christianity and promise to remain Christians,—not a serious hindrance to a Chinaman's continued residence in the islands. A. de I., 68–5–16.

tenance of communications between China and the Philippines was very essential to the propagation of missionary work in the former country. On the other hand, the alleged vices of the Chinese made them in the eyes of some Spaniards a grave moral menace, and their obdurate heresy or frivolous conversion set a bad example to the native Filipinos.[1]

In the two centuries in which the Spaniards' interest had been engrossed by the galleon commerce the Chinese had so completely monopolized the trades and retail business of the colony that the Spaniards who wished to enter these lines of work in the latter half of the eighteenth century found the competition of the Oriental a barrier to success.[2] This was all the more serious in that the

[1] "La riqueza que les facilita el comercio, el vicio de luxuria que generalmente reyna entre ellos, y su demasiada malicia y havilidad causan gravísimos danos." Pedro Calderón Enríquez to the King, July 10, 1741, A. de I., 68–5–16. The report of the *oidor*, drawn up after a tour of inspection among the provinces, is one of the most valuable documents for the study of the Chinese in the islands. It is dated June 16, 1741, and was directed to the governor, A. de I., 68–5–16. "Su gobierno en el estado presente es á derecho divino nada conforme, y á las leyes, ordenanzas y cédulas reales, expressamente contrario." *Ibid.* A memorial of the *oidor* Diego Calderón Serrano, written April 10, 1677, and reviewed by the Council, September 20, 1686, insists on the evil influence of the Chinese over the natives. He charges the former with inviting and even forcing the natives to eat meat on fast days, of dissuading them from hearing mass or sermons, and ordering them to work on feast days, "without the least regard for the things of the other life, or for God or his law." A. de I., 68–5–16. The Audiencia said of their Christianity in 1695: "Aunque no fueran muy buenos *Christianos*, produzen muy buenos *Catolicos* y leales Vasallos de Vuestra Magested." Audiencia to the King, June 18, 1695. A. de I., 68–5–16. A royal *cédula* of 1744, ordering the *absolute* expulsion of all heathen Chinese, accused the Chinese, among other things, of "idolatry and atheism, lasciviousness and sodomy, astuteness, vivacity and artifice, usury and deceit." Real Cédula, July 23, 1744, A. de I., 68–6–15. The remark of a Jesuit friar stationed in China is worth quoting, as illustrating the recognition of the worth of the Chinese race by those better acquainted with their civilization. Writing to Juan Bautista Román, the Spanish *factor* at Macao, he said: "Es cosa de admiracion que esta gente que jamás tubo comercio con la de Europa aya alcanzado casi tanto por si proprios." Relacion de Juan Bautista Román, factor de las islas filipinas en Macao (1584), A. de I., 67–6–29.

Although ley 34, titulo 45, libro 9, of the *Recopilación* forbade trade with China from the Philippines, the King granted permission for such trade in 1690, in view of Governor Vargas Hurtado's representations that such a line was necessary for the perpetuation of Christian missions in China. Real Cédula, September 23, 1690, A. de I., 67–6–26.

As to the possible effect of exclusion on conversion, the Audiencia remarked in 1695 that if the Chinese were forced to be mere transient traders, who yearly come and go with the monsoons, their conversion would be difficult on account of their lack of fixed habitation. They add: "Porque quien anda de viage siempre coje las cosas de ligero, y rara vez de asiento." *Ut supra.*

[2] "Los Chinos quitaban las utilidades que podían tener los naturales de las mismas islas, y los Espanoles que residían en ellas, por exercer los mencionados Sangleyes todas las Artes, y oficios mecánicos de la República." *Ibid.* Pedro González de Ribera and others to the Governor, June 30, 1729, A. de I., 68–5–16.

A memorial signed by leading Spaniards of Manila, including Governor Vera, petitioned the Council to forbid the Chinese remaining in Manila to retail their goods. This business, they said, should be in the hands of the Spaniards. (July 26), 1586, B. and R., vol. 6, p. 168. These recommendations were incorporated in the

galleon trade itself was at this time controlled by a few affluent merchants. As a result, those who were thrown between the two monopolies clamored for the expulsion and exclusion of the Chinese as the only means of restoring industrial opportunity. The foremost advocate of this policy was Simón de Anda y Salazar, one of the ablest, and certainly the most aggressive, of the governors of the period of revival.[1] Anda favored not only the absolute expulsion of the Chinese, gentiles and Christians, but even of those Spaniards who should oppose such a move. He names as the influences against expulsion the few wealthier Spanish merchants, interested solely in the galleon trade, the regulars and the governors. The position of the first, who were largely dependent on the Chinese for their purchases for the galleons, is easily understood. The regular clergy found in the Sangleys a rich field for conversion, which Anda declares to have been a large source of revenue. He says that when the order came for the expulsion of all heathen Chinese in Arandía's time, two friars baptized four hundred Chinamen in one day. The Chinese had also served as "a most abundant milk cow for the government." Unscrupulous governors had levied contributions on the Sangley population, while holding over their heads the threat of expulsion, — the old resource of medieval rulers with the Jews. By systematic "adulation and subornation" of the governor, Anda continues, the pliant Chinese had defeated the purpose of several orders for expulsion sent out from Madrid. He reiterates the old arguments against the presence of the Sangleys. They were a standing menace to the Spanish community, even to the point of designing the seizure of the islands. Their "masquerading" as Christians was a scandal to Christendom,[2] and the religious practices of those who persisted in paganism were abhorrent to

instructions given to Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas three years later. B. and R., vol. 7, p. 154.

[1] Anda's views are vigorously set forth in a long bound memorial apparently directed to Julian de Arriaga, first Minister of the Indies, written in Madrid, July 7, 1768, after his first term as Governor of the islands. A. de I., 108–3–17.

[2] "He visto én Manila á Dios y á Belial juntos en un altar, mano á mano, y muy amigos." As evidence of the insincerity of the conversions, "en rebaños," Anda cites the relapse of the Chinese during the English occupation. "Todos apostataron (si assi se puede decir de quien recibe el bautismo sin intencion), todos adoraron la Caveza del Puerco, la Serpiente, el Confucio, y otras Sabandijas de este tenor." In 1699 the archbishop accuses the insincerity of the Christianity of the Chinese. Archbishop to the King, June 8, 1699, A. de I., 68–5–16.

the governor who, if sometimes anti-clerical in action, was orthodox in belief.

It was utterly untrue, Anda protested, that the welfare of the islands depended on the Chinese.[1] However, the positive feature of his scheme was the creation of an exclusively Spanish industrial community. The necessary preliminary to this was naturally the definitive adoption of the old expulsion-exclusion policy. On his first entrance into office as governor, a petition against the Chinese had been presented by "those Spaniards who wish to work in order to live." Henceforth, this large element, hitherto an object of charity and in a state closely bordering on vagabondage, — though they had once held a place in the galleon traffic, — found a spokesman in the governor. They had no part in the existing economic régime, but once the Spaniards were rid of the Chinese, they could take their places as shopkeepers and could make up the personnel of Spanish business houses.[2] During the former fitful periods of exclusion such a condition had momentarily existed, only to disappear with the restoration of the Orientals. As for the trades, now filled by Chinese workmen, the natives — and such Spaniards as wished — could take their place. For those who shipped cargoes in the galleons to Acapulco, the Chinese might come each year to Manila, sell their goods under the restrictions of the old sixteenth century law, and catch the returning monsoon for the Chinese coast. Or better still, Spanish merchants might send factors to Macao and Canton as did other European traders, and later despatch Spanish owned shops to carry the consignments to Manila for the galleons. The next year after Anda presented his memorial to Arriaga, the *Ministro General*, the order of expulsion was put into execution. In 1778, two years after Anda's death, and during the governorship of Basco y Vargas, the Chinese were permitted to return to Manila.

[1] Concerning the deportation by Arandía in 1755, Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, 282, says: "Trade became stagnant. The Philippines now experienced what Spain had felt since the reign of Philip III, when the expulsion of 900,000 Moorish agriculturists and artisans crippled her home industries, which it took a century and a half to revive. The Acapulco trade was fast on the wane and the Spanish elements were anxious to get the local trade into their hands."

[2] "Son precisos comerciantes y caxeros ó mancebos de mercader, para que arrojados de una vez los Chinos (sin que quede uno) se ponga aqueal comercio como en España y la America."

THE QUESTION OF ECCLESIASTICAL VISITATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

CHARLES H. CUNNINGHAM

CLOSELY similar to the jurisdiction of the audiencia as a court of final resort in the testing of titles to lands occupied by the religious orders, was that which the tribunal exercised in the matter of ecclesiastical visitation. This was a question of a pronounced canonical character which did not concern the civil government as completely as did the matter of the friar lands. While the issue of the friar lands controversies was always between the orders and the civil government, the disputes over ecclesiastical visitation involved the ordinaries on the one hand and the dissenting friars on the other. In general it may be said that the audiencia was utilized by both sides in the various disputes which arose. The archbishop relied on it for assistance in the enforcement of his claims, and the friars sought its protection as a court of justice to protect them from the visitation of the ordinary. As in the matter of the friar lands, wherein the authority of the audiencia was not imposed solely as a court of justice, so in this question, also, it acted both as a tribunal of justice and particularly as an agent or champion of the royal patronage. The laws of the Indies established the audiencia as a tribunal and as a compelling authority for the enforcement of ecclesiastical visitation. The archbishop was directed to appeal to the audiencia or vice-patron for assistance in the subjection of offending curates,[1] but the ordinary was forbidden to inspect the regulars in the monasteries;[2] which, of course, did not prevent his visiting them when they were in charge of curacies. The audiencia was forbidden to entertain, on grounds of *fuerza*, appeals from regulars who objected to the visitation of the ordinaries.[3]

[1] *Recop. de Ind.*, lib. 1, tit. 15, ley 28.
[2] *Ibid.*, ley 29.
[3] *Ibid.*, ley 31. A recourse of *fuerza* was an appeal taken to a civil tribunal

Among writers on this subject Professor Moses analyzes quite clearly the causes of the visitation controversy. He writes as follows: "In America the monks were given a somewhat unusual position. According to the canon law they were not able to hold beneficed curacies, but the extent of the American field and the limited number of the clergy available to occupy it, induced Leo X, Adrian VI, Paul III, Clement VIII, and Pius V to permit them to become parish priests. Under this order a very large number of these parishes in America in the first century were occupied by friars. But in the middle of the eighteenth century this privilege was withdrawn, leaving them only two friars in a conventional parish." [1] The ecclesiastical problem in the Philippines was the same as in New Spain and Peru, and it became necessary there also to substitute friars for seculars. The ordinaries were authorized by the Council of Trent to inspect the friars when acting in this capacity.[2]

The chief object of the archiepiscopal visit referred to "was to introduce the entire Catholic doctrine . . . to expel heresies, to promote good customs, to save souls, to inflame the people with religious exhortations and counsels, to arrange everything in accordance with the convenience of the faithful, according to the prudence of the visitor." [3] In other words, by principle of episcopal visitation the archbishop was conceded ultimate jurisdiction and reformatory power over the organized Church, and this made no exception of the regular clergy when the latter were acting in place of the seculars in the parishes. Aside from the jealousy always prevalent in the relations of the regular and secular clergy, the application of this principle placed the former in a position of subjection to two masters (the superior of their order and the ordinary), which was an impossible situation.

Philip IV, in a *cédula* dated August 14, 1622, ordered the promulgation in the Philippines of a decree which had been issued on June 22 of the same year for the establishments of New Spain.

from an ecclesiastical judge on the grounds that the latter was acting in excess of his proper and authorized jurisdiction.

[1] Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*, pp. 138–139. The most important of these bulls, referred to by Professor Moses, are to be found in Icazbalceta-Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica*, pp. 191–196.

[2] Pérez y López, *Teatro*, vol. 27, pp. 587–588.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 586.

By this law the stamp of royal approval was placed on the principle of the visitation of parochially employed regulars in the Islands by the ordinaries. It was provided that parishes occupied by regulars should remain thus, but it discountenanced the principle of placing friars in such charges in the future.[1] A distinction was made between the jurisdiction of the archbishop and that of the religious provincials. Parishes occupied by friars should be subject to the archbishop in matters pertaining to the care of souls, the support and regulation of the churches, divine worship, and the administration of the sacrament, but all matters relating to the personal characters and conduct of the friars and their relation to the orders should be referred to the religious superior of the particular order to which the offending friar belonged.[2]

There exists much evidence to prove that friars were often placed in parishes to the exclusion of seculars who had a better and more natural right to occupy these charges. This seems to have been done by ambitious ordinaries who were desirous of extending the holdings of their particular orders. An illustration of this tendency and its results is shown in a letter sent by the *cabildo* at Manila to Philip IV in 1632: "This city is to-day full of poverty-stricken seculars, and one must fear that there will be so many in a few years that they will die of hunger because we have no benefices to give them in this archbishopric, or throughout the Islands; for these are held by friars who cost Your Majesty so dearly."[3] This statement might seem to indicate that there existed on the part of the orders a deliberate scheme to gain possession of a vast number of livings, and hold them, independently either of the government or of the diocese. Another illustration may be given. In 1639 the archbishop received from the king a *cédula* which ordered that in all parishes regulars should be replaced by seculars. The archbishop and audiencia, acting in *acuerdo*, decided to suspend this order temporarily. This was done on the grounds that the youth, immaturity, and lack of experience of the secular priests in the Philippines showed that

[1] Decree of the King at San Lorenzo, November 1603 (Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 20, p. 87).
[2] B. and R., vol. 21, pp. 32–78.
[3] *Cabildo* to Philip IV, January 7, 1632 (B. and R., vol. 24, p. 247).

compliance with the order of the king would be unwise.[1] It is difficult to determine whether this was a true statement, or whether it may be considered a confirmation of the above letter of the *cabildo*.[2] The non-compliance of the Manila authorities would seem to indicate that they were favorable to the friars.

These struggles between the archbishops and the friars continued throughout the history of the Islands. The question of visitation came up for the first time in 1582, when Bishop Salazar stoutly maintained that whoever occupied the parishes, whether they were regulars or seculars, should submit to his jurisdiction. Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa and the audiencia were obliged to intervene between the bishop and the regulars in behalf of the former, and although the conflict was quieted, the question at issue was not settled.[3] It was said that Governor Peñalosa's premature death in 1583 was hastened by the hostility and vindictiveness of the friars.

The second contest came about in 1620–21, when Archbishop Serrano sought to enforce the principle of visitation. In a letter to the king, dated July 31, 1622, Serrano asked for royal support in his efforts to exercise jurisdiction over the regulars, charging the latter with such laxity, indolence, and disobedience, that their presence, unrestrained, constituted a grave peril to the state. He commented on the personnel of the orders, alleging that the members had been poorly selected; that the morals of most of the friars were bad, and their education defective.[4] Serrano had appealed to the audiencia for support, but as the tribunal was in the power of Fajardo, it was unable to render him assistance at that time and the archbishop was obliged to have recourse to the king.[5]

The third vigorous attempt of an ordinary to enforce episcopal visitation was made by Archbishop Poblete in 1653. He likewise

[1] The King to the Archbishop, December 16, 1639 (B. and R., vol. 29, p. 191).

[2] An argument against the assumption that the friars really desired to hold the curacies may be found in the memorial of 1699 (B. and R., vol. 42, pp. 64–84), but it is questionable whether the authors of this memorial seriously contemplated withdrawal, as they knew that the government had no seculars with which to replace them.

[3] Montero y Vidal, vol. 1, pp. 86–87. Most of the ecclesiastical historians, Zúñiga, Concepción, Buceta y Bravo, Delgado, and Murillo Velarde, being regulars, opposed this principle. Their writings clearly manifest their lack of sympathy.

[4] Serrano to the King, July 30, 1622 (B. and R., vol. 20, p. 87).

[5] B. and R., vol. 21, pp. 32–78 (including testimonials and letters bearing on the question of visitation, and the efforts of the archbishop to enforce the principle).

met with the pronounced opposition of the friars, supported, as they were on the occasion, by the royal audiencia. On the ground that local traditions of which the archbishop, on account of his short period of residence in the Islands, had no cognizance, rendered visitation impossible, the audiencia commanded the ordinary to suspend his attempts until advice could be received from the Council of the Indies.[1] It is true that archbishops, full of zeal and ambition, and fresh from the ecclesiastical fields of Spain and Mexico, often made more determined efforts to enforce these prerogatives on their arrival than a few years later, when they had become more accustomed to local conditions, and their vitality had been sapped by the enervation of a tropical climate. The deciding incident in Poblete's attempt was the threat of several of the orders to resign and leave their curacies, if he did not desist from his alleged persecutions.[2]

Archbishop Camacho's ecclesiastical administration, beginning September 13, 1697, was noted for two controversies. One of them was over the question of the royal inspection of land titles and the other involved episcopal visitation. These two questions were clearly related at this time on account of Camacho's determination to support the government in its efforts to verify the titles of the friars in relation to the refusal of the latter to submit to his visitation. Camacho was said to have purchased the support of the audiencia in his struggle with the friars by conceding the right of the civil authorities to inspect these titles. In his repeated summons to the friars the ordinary cited the authority of the Council of Trent and the repeated *cédulas* of the king of Spain.[3] The bitterness of the struggle over episcopal visitation became more pronounced under Camacho because his determination exceeded that of any of his predecessors.

On February 13, 1699, the resident procurators (in Madrid) of the Franciscans, Augustinians, Recollects, Jesuits, and even the Dominicans (the latter usually sided with the archbishops of their order), presented a joint memorial [4] in opposition to the combined

[1] B. and R., vol. 37, pp. 193–200.
[2] Montero y Vidal, vol. 1, p. 295.
[3] *Cabildo* to the King, June 29, 1683 (Archivo General de Indias, 69–1–29).
[4] Memorial of the Procurators of the Religious Orders to the King, February 13, 1699 (B. and R., vol. 42, pp. 64–112).

power of the government and the archbishop, which, united, seemed at last to be at the point of triumph. The memorial consisted of three parts. The first was devoted to an exposition of actual conditions, in which it was announced that in protestation against the efforts of the archbishop to enforce visitation "the religious orders declined to submit, . . . and were resolved to abandon all Indian villages rather than administer them subject to the archbishop." Fifty friars actually resigned their parishes, and the archbishop removed others, leaving the villages without Spanish occupants, to the demoralization of the natives there. The audiencia had unsuccessfully attempted to restrain the friars from leaving so summarily. Its manner of addressing the provincials of the orders in Manila, according to the accounts of the procurators, had been disrespectful in the extreme. Various charges had been made against them, and they had been given no chance to defend themselves.

The second part of their memorial sought to prove that friars should not be forced to act as parish priests. The work was inconsistent with the real calling of their profession. It was accessory to their duties. It interfered with the offices of the missionary friars, and limited their scope. The tenure of a parish priest was short, and liable to change, while that of a friar was for life. When a friar acted as parish priest he was moved here and there, and was consequently unable to become permanently identified with any community to the extent necessary to exercise his missionary duties properly. He was forced to associate with parish priests, whose qualifications were not as high and whose training was not as thorough as his own, and in the minds of all he really became identified with the secular clergy, suffering in the respect due to him by virtue of his long training, his vows, and his exalted character.

The third argument advanced in this valuable and interesting memorial was that if the friars held curacies, they should not look to the archbishop as their superior, because they were already subject to their respective provincials. Such a relationship to the archbishop, also, involved a divided responsibility and a conflict of jurisdiction which had caused much difficulty and annoyance through the history of the Islands, and which would never

yield beneficial results. Under this condition the agreement of the archbishop, provincial, and vice-patron was necessary before any friar holding a parish could be removed. This method was always cumbersome and impossible of proper execution, owing to the usual non-conformity of at least one of the trio. The procurators argued that although the Council of Trent had authorized the episcopal visitation of parishes held by regulars, two popes, Pius V and Urban VIII, had subsequently exempted the friars from subjection, when, as in the Philippines, they held them merely from a sense of duty and out of a spirit of accommodation.[1]

This memorial presented to the King the alternative of exemption from visitation or withdrawal from the curacies. Behind this was a veiled threat that the friars would leave the Islands if visitation were insisted on.[2] The procurators, quoting a *cédula* dated November 27, 1687, in which the king had ordered the temporary suspension of visitation, affected to believe that the royal authority was on their side in the matter. They seemed to take it for granted that they would be further excused,[3] which supposition, in view of subsequent events, proved to be correct. The immediate effect of their memorial, however, was to bring forth a royal *cédula* of May 20, 1700, in which the monarch congratulated Archbishop Camacho on his stand, assured him of the royal support, and authorized further insistence on visitation, at the same time expressing the assurance that the friars could not and would not leave the curacies, or retire from the Islands, as the audiencia

[1] Memorial of the Procurators of the Religious Orders to the King, February 13, 1699 (B. and R., vol. 42, pp. 72–73). This memorial states that at this time, out of 800 parishes, only 60 were held by seculars. The withdrawal of the regulars evidently threatened to depopulate the curacies, ecclesiastically. Very much the same condition existed in New Spain. In 1754 the king decreed that for ten years no more friars should be admitted. According to Humboldt, in 1803, there were approximately 8000 regulars in New Spain, and 1200 in the city of Mexico, alone. The same struggle was fought out there as in the Philippines, except on a larger scale. They protested against removal from the parishes, and resisted the visitation of the bishops until concessions were made to them. The morals of the regulars became debased in the eighteenth century. They openly defied the law. They grew rich and extravagant, owning large estates, opening shops, and openly indulging in traffic. They caroused, feasted, and spent their time in debauchery, dice throwing and card playing, accompanied by swearing and cursing. They broke the rules of celibacy. The earlier monastic simplicity gave way to luxury and the flagrant assumption and display of authority, and monastic communities, in common with the secular clergy, possessed themselves of estates bequeathed to them by persons whose unbiased action was interfered with to the detriment of their own heirs. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. 3, pp. 704–709, *passim*.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

had power to enforce their submission, and thus prevent their withdrawal.[1] At the same time and on the same date the king directed to the audiencia an order commanding that it lend its assistance to the efforts of the archbishop to enforce visitation.[2] This latter *cédula* was re-promulgated on July 1, 1701. The audiencia was especially directed to give every possible assistance to the enforcement of the laws bearing on the subject.[3] This promulgation recognized the temporary nature of the occupancy of the parishes by the friars, authorized visitation by the archbishop, and established the audiencia as an agency for the enforcement of the principle of ecclesiastical visitation.

Notwithstanding this seeming triumph of the archbishop, the latter was opposed more vigorously than ever by the friars. Conditions came to be so unsettled that, according to one writer, the governor, growing weary of the continual turmoil and incessant warfare, withdrew his support and that of the audiencia. As a consequence, Camacho failed in his efforts, and the friars emerged victorious, retaining their curacies and at the same time remaining free from visitation.[4] It may be noted that here again expediency stood in the way of principle. The defeat of the archbishop was inevitable when the audiencia and the governor deserted him.

Although Camacho was vanquished by local conditions, Pope Clement XI, in response to the appeal of the archbishop, issued a bull by which the subjection of regulars under the circumstances prevalent in the Philippines, was ordered. This bull came through the Council of the Indies, duly endorsed, and it seemed that nothing was left for the regulars but to submit.[5] This was the status of the situation in 1707 when Archbishop de la Cuesta, inspired, as Camacho had been, with a desire to execute strictly all laws and *cédulas*, arrived on the scene and set to work to enforce the subjection of the friars to his diocesan rule. The regulars, while abiding by the papal bull, protested that it should be applicable only to those who had arrived in the Islands before the

[1] Royal Decree of May 20, 1700 (A. G. de I., 68–4–12). This belief was based on ley 28, tit. 15, lib. 1.
[2] *Cédula* of May 20, 1700 (A. G. de I., 68–4–12).
[3] *Recop. de Ind.*, lib. 1, tit. 15, ley 28.
[4] Pardo de Tavera, *The Power of the Monastic Orders* in *Philippine Census*, vol. 1, p. 343.
[5] Montero y Vidal, vol. 1, p. 398. The exact date of this bull is not given by Montero y Vidal.

bull was issued, and accordingly they appealed the question, with the consent of the archbishop, to the Council of the Indies. The ordinary, awaiting returns from the Council, temporarily suspended his visitation.

The king, meanwhile, had received from the governor of the Philippines a full account of the resistance of the friars to Camacho, and had learned, contrary to his expectations, that the audiencia actually had been unable to enforce the *cédulas* of May 29, 1700 and July 1, 1701, and those laws of the Indies [1] which ordered the tribunal to support the archbishop and prevent the wholesale desertion of the curacies. As a matter of fact, they were deserted in spite of the audiencia, and a large number of friars were on the point of leaving the Islands. This condition, which had deterred the governor and the audiencia, also gave food for reflection to the king. Conditions similar to this also prevailed in the New World.[2] The king accordingly issued an order to Cuesta commanding him to desist from his attempts at visitation among the regulars until further orders were received.[3] While this controversy was in progress, Bishop Irala, of Nueva Segovia, tried to enforce visitation in his district. The matter was appealed to the audiencia by way of *fuerza*, and although the proceeding was contrary to the laws of the Indies,[4] the audiencia sustained the regulars, exempting them from the interference of the ordinary.[5]

This suspended status of the principle of episcopal visitation continued in the Philippines from 1701 until 1767, when, in conformity with a papal bull issued November 6, 1744, and confirmed by the king in 1751, Archbishop Santos y Rufina determined to subject the friar parish priests to his inspection. The widely accepted view among the secular clergy that the continual assignment of friars to parishes was an encroachment on the canonical functions of the diocesan clergy had caused strong protests to be made at Court from all quarters against the immorality and viciousness of the regulars. As a result of the influence which had been brought to bear, Ferdinand V issued a decree in 1757

[1] *Recop. de Ind.*, lib. 1, tit. 15, ley 28. See above in A. G. de I., 68–4–12.
[2] Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. 3, pp. 681–682, 702–709; Lowery, Woodbury, *Spanish Settlements within the United States: 1513–1561*, pp. 390–391.
[3] Zúñiga, *Historia* (Spanish ed., 1803), pp. 418–419; Montero y Vidal, pp. 398–399.
[4] *Recop. de Ind.*, lib. 1, tit. 15, ley 31.
[5] B. and R., vol. 44, p. 147.

which prohibited friars from assuming the care of parishes in the future, and provided that as the curacies occupied by regulars became vacant through death, only members of the secular clergy should be appointed to the vacancies thus created.[1]

Archbishop Santos y Rufina was at first successful. In his efforts he was supported by Governor Raón, and he actually obtained the submission of some of the Dominicans who held curacies. Raón ordered the provincials of the orders to submit to the royal patronage. With respect to the filling of the vacancies in the future he directed that they should submit to him, as vice-patron, the names of three friars for each vacancy, and from among those recommended he should have the ultimate power of selecting the successful candidate. This almost unheard of presumption of the governor (so styled by the Dominicans), gave rise to a storm of protest. The regulars vacated many curacies, and again threatened to leave the Islands. The archbishop filled the vacancies with native priests whose low moral caliber, as evidenced by their conduct in office, soon proved to be entirely incompatible with the duties which they were called on to perform, and the condition of the parishes became worse than when the regulars had held them.[2] Appeals were again made to the Council of the Indies, both by regulars and the archbishop, and the execution of the principle was once again suspended. The real defeat of the archbishop was brought about by the change in the attitude of Governor Raón, who withdrew his support and no longer insisted on enforcing the royal patronage in the matter of filling the curacies.[3]

Santos y Rufina was again emboldened to insist on visitation after the arrival of Governor Anda y Salazar. Anda had shown himself to be much in favor of subjecting the friars to visitation, by his lengthy memorial of April 12, 1768,[4] in which he set forth

[1] Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*, p. 142. The original decree exists in A. G. de I., 106–4–21.

[2] M. and V., vol. 2, pp. 132, 134–138; Buzeta y Bravo, *Diccionario*, vol 2, p. 279. It became a common saying in this connection, that there were no longer enough rowers for the river boats, because the archbishop had ordained them all as priests. The above action of the govneror was in compliance with the *cédulas* of August 1, 1753 and of June 23, 1757, which ordered that the regulars holding curacies should be subjected to the vice-patron. Anda enforced this principle.

[3] It is possible that Raón was susceptible to the influence of bribes in this matter, as he had shown himself to be in 1769, when, it is said, he accepted 20,000 *pesos* from the Jesuits for favoring them when they were expelled from the Islands. La Gentil, *Voyage*, vol. 2, pp. 189–190.

[4] Anda's Memorial of April 12, 1768 (B. and R., vol. 50, pp. 136–178).

the evil influences of the regular clergy in the Philippines. His recommendations were carefully followed, on account of his former term of service and experience in the Philippines (having been *oidor* and temporary governor from 1759 to 1764), where his opportunity to observe conditions gave a practical character to his opinions, not to be found in the theories of others. Through Anda's influence was secured the promulgation of the royal decrees of August 5 and of November 9, 1774, ordering the secularization of the holdings of the regulars as rapidly as they were vacated, and their transfer into the hands of the secular clergy. This decree was a reaffirmation of that of June 23, 1753.[1] In addition it permitted the retention by the several orders of not more than two parishes in each province, provided that the orders in question were in possession at the time the *cédula* was expedited. Necessary convents for the residence and training of regulars were allowed in the provinces.[2]

Among the early official acts of Anda, after his return to the islands, was the promulgation of a decree on October 26, 1771, ordering that by virtue of the royal patronage and the provisions of the Council of Trent, the regulars should make place for the seculars by surrendering their parishes as fast as the latter presented themselves to succeed them.[3] This decree was issued on the basis of information furnished him by Archbishop Santos y Rufina on October 23 of that year, to the effect that there was a sufficient number of curates to fill the parishes; hence if the regulars continued as parish priests they would be acting in deprivation of unassigned seculars who were waiting in Manila.[4] Anda despatched decrees to the various *alcaldes mayores* ordering them to put an end to the continuance of the friars as parish priests where seculars were available.[5]

Anda's efforts to enforce episcopal visitation, and to bring

[1] Montero y Vidal, vol. 2, p. 257, *et seq.*; *Cédulas* of June 27, 1757, August 5 and November 9, 1774 (A. G. de I., 106–4–21).

[2] The activities of the regulars were supposed to be confined to the frontiers where missionary work was possible. Padre Pastels, the modern Jesuit authority, in an interview with the writer, outlined the divisions occupied by the regulars as follows: Augustinians, Cebu, Luzón, Manila; Dominicans, Northern Luzón; Jesuits, Visayas, Luzón, Mindanao; Recollects, Visayas, Mindanao; Franciscans, Samar, Leyte, Bohol.

[3] Decree of Anda, October 26, 1771(A. G. de I., 106–4–21).

[4] Santos y Rufina to Anda, October 23, 1771 (*ibid.*).

[5] General Order to Alcaldes Mayores, December 24, 1771 (*ibid.*).

about the displacement of the regulars by the seculars resulted in a very distinct reversal of opinion on his part as to the feasibility of the practice. While his memorial of April 12, 1768, advocated it, and the orders of 1771, above cited, showed that he tried to enforce it, the intervening five years of struggle against the regulars convinced him that both visitation and secularization were impracticable. From 1771 to 1776 the king had been beset by vigorous protests from the procurators and provincials of the various orders and other religious authorities. He had received, also, from time to time, accounts of their side of the struggle by Archbishop Santos y Rufina and Governor Anda.

On December 11, 1776, a royal decree was issued abrogating that of November 9, 1774, "which had ordered the secularization of the parishes held by the regulars, and their subjection to episcopal visitation, and that they be subject to the laws of the royal patronage." This new decree was issued, so stated its preamble, largely on the recommendations of Governor Anda and Archbishop Santos y Rufina. "They had tried to put into execution the foregoing decree under the laws of the royal patronage, but the difficulties of its enforcement has convinced His Majesty that its continuance would not be convenient to the service of God, . . . as there are not enough Spanish seculars in the Islands, and the weak morals, and the general incompetence of the native clergy being well known, it is advisable to leave the jurisdiction in the hands of the regulars." [1] It was commanded that in all other respects the royal patronage should be observed by the regulars, curates, and parish priests, and that as fast as duly qualified seculars should arrive in the Islands they should be installed in curacies heretofore held by regulars.

The efforts of Archbishop Santos y Rufina and Governor Anda were practically the last that were made to enforce episcopal visitation and governmental inspection over the regulars. From that time onward it was generally conceded that secularization was undesirable, in that it amounted, in the absence of the Spanish seculars, to putting immature and immoral native priests in charge of the parishes; men who had a low conception of what religion stood for, and whose influence was not only morally bad, but who

[1] *Cédula* of December 11, 1776 (A. G. de I., 105–2–9 and 106–4–31).

were politically insubordinate as well. The regulars were quite generally left in charge of the parishes; they retained them until the end of the Spanish administration of the Islands, and it seems that the government in the nineteenth century increasingly favored the friars.[1]

This changed policy toward the regulars, their retention of the parishes, and the question of visitation, may be illustrated by a number of subsequent occurrences. On April 6, 1778, the king reprimanded the audiencia for having rendered a decision which was contrary to the interests of the orders in the matter of episcopal visitation.[2] The audiencia, it seems, had taken no cognizance of the decree of December 11, 1776, but had approved the contention of an ecclesiastical ordinary that he had the right to enforce diocesan visitation upon the regulars who were holding parishes in his province. On another occasion (in 1778) the audiencia acted more nearly in harmony with the new governmental policy. On the death of a certain Augustinian friar, who for several years had occupied a certain parish, the provincial of the order had appointed another Augustinian to take his place. This act was opposed by the archbishop, who appealed the case to the audiencia, and that body, in *acuerdo* with the vice-patron, decided in favor of the Augustinians, "because of the great advantage which must follow from the administration of the curacies by Europeans instead of *Sangley mestizos* and native priests." [3] The decree of the king, issued September 17, 1778, approved the act of the audiencia and ordered that no change should be made in the status of the regulars and of the curacies as established by the decree of December 11, 1776.[4]

In the same spirit was the act of Governor Aguilar, who, in 1804, had authorized the appointment of regulars to the vacant parishes of Santa Rosa, Imus, and Las Piñas. The dean and *cabildo* appealed to the audiencia, and the governor, in justifying himself before that body and the king, pointed out that "the

[1] It may be said, in fact, that the policy of the Spanish government in favoring the retention of the parishes by the regulars, and thereby excluding the native secular clergy, was the prime cause of the Philippine insurrection. The instigations of the native clergy did much toward inciting their countrymen to rebellion.

[2] *Cédula* of April 6, 1778 (A. G. de I., 106–4–21).

[3] There were but six native priests holding curacies at this time. Testimony of Decree of September 17, 1778 (A. G. de I., 106–4–21).

[4] *Ibid.*

strongest argument against the surrender of the parishes to the native priests [was] the fact that the latter [were] little more than barbarians, and not at all fit to occupy the districts." [1] The regulars, he said, were of a higher order, and the effect of their presence would be as it had always been, to hold the natives to a higher level and to keep them from reverting to barbarism. Aside from illustrating the changed policy of the government toward the friars, this incident brings to light the real reason for the abandonment of the parishes in the Philippines to the regulars, namely the inefficient and corrupt state of the native clergy.

The decree of June 8, 1826, dealt the final and decisive blow to the native clergy. The preamble to this enactment stated that "in view of the petitions of the captain-general, audiencia, the *ayuntamiento* and the archbishop of Manila, pointing out the need of preference of Spanish priests, and the fact that [at that time there were] several vacant parishes belonging to the Augustinians and other orders, which it [was] necessary to fill, in view of the high character of the services rendered by the members of those orders, they should be restored to the administration of the curacies, *doctrinas*, and parishes which they had occupied previous to the issuance of the decree of November 9, 1774, and neither the vice-patron nor any diocesan shall proceed further to the secularization of any curacy without express royal orders." This, the decree stated further, should not be interpreted as a disparagement of the secular clergy or in deprivation of anything which they might at that time hold. [2]

In view of the foregoing, it may be said that the audiencia performed a very distinctive duty in the enforcement of episcopal visitation when the principle was insisted upon. The chief function of the audiencias was that of a court to which the prelates and authorities interested or desirous of enforcing the principle might appeal for support and assistance. The audiencia could and did legalize the acts of the archbishop by finding them to be in harmony with the royal decrees which had been promulgated in favor of the principle. The audiencia was also utilized as a court of refuge by the dissenting friars, and, on more than one

[1] Aguilar to the King, September 25, 1804 (M. and V., vol. 2, p. 362).
[2] Decree of June 8, 1826 (A. G. de I., 106–4–21).

occasion, as has been noted, they were protected, while the ordinary was restrained by the injunction of the audiencia. The latter, in rendering decisions in the matter, presumably based its action on the most recent royal *cédulas* or decrees, and the latter differed with time and circumstances, depending much on the prevailing policy of the government, which was not always consistent.

It has been emphasized, also, that local conditions contributed toward determining the character of the support rendered by the audiencia. During the latter months of the Pardo controversy, when the magistrates were imprisoned or exiled by the irate ordinary, the decision of the tribunal had little weight; in Camacho's time, when the friars were on the point of leaving the Islands rather than submit, the audiencia and the governor counseled moderation, and completely abandoned the archbishop; during Anda's term of office the struggle was similarly abandoned, though for different reasons, and all the subsequent decisions of the audiencia in cases that were appealed to it were in favor of the regulars. This attitude was determined partly by state policy and partly by practical considerations. The magistrates of the audiencia likewise rendered invaluable service in imparting legal advice to the vice-patron, the ordinaries, and others interested. They also kept the Court informed as to what was actually going on in the colony. It may be seen, therefore, that the audiencia participated in a great variety of ways in the enforcement of episcopal visitation. It was primarily a court of appeal and it was also an agent of the royal patron, and in these capacities its influence was greatest. It also exercised functions of an advisory character, in aiding the authorities concerned to ascertain their just rights according to the existing law.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

David P. Barrows

In the organization of the office of chief executive of great colonial dependencies is involved a political problem of first magnitude. The responsibilities of the government of an alien race, often permeated with discontent and difficult to control, require the deposit in the local executive of great and impressive powers, but there must be assurance that these powers will be exercised in subordination to the will of the home government and in accord with standards of humane and enlightened policy. Public opinion in a dependency cannot be relied upon for control and is always characterized by moods of hostility. Public opinion, and frequently official opinion in the metropolitan country, is usually ill-informed and incapable of imagination. The history of certain of these great officers like the viceroy of India, or the governor-general of Netherlands-India or French Indo-China, perfectly illustrates the dilemma. It exhibits both the abuses of entrusting undisciplined authority to officers imperfectly responsible, and also the spectacle of rare capacity made impotent by a superior control that was distrustful, jealous, and incapable of allowing adequate discretion.

Of the several impressive offices of this character still existent in the modern world, not the least in importance and the oldest in point of history is under the sovereignty of the United States, and the recurring problem of its organization, which baffled Spanish political effort for more than three centuries, now occupies the attention of American statesmanship. The governorship of the Philippines, in the seventeen years of American rule, has passed through several forms and its further reorganization awaits the attention of the present Congress of the United States. It seems

clear that such a problem of administration can be intelligently solved only by proper regard for the history of the institution and the place that it has occupied in the good and evil fortunes of the archipelago.

The office of governor and captain-general of the Philippines was created by royal *cédula* of King Philip II in 1567, immediately upon receipt of news of the successful occupation of the archipelago, and was conferred upon the *adelantado* and conqueror of the islands, Don Miguel López de Legazpi. For the space of two hundred years it underwent little development, but continued to illustrate perhaps more admirably than any other similar position in the Spanish colonial empire the typical character and vicissitudes of the institution. Then toward the close of the eighteenth century it shared in those important administrative changes which, in America, are associated with the work of Gálvez. It entered on a third phase of its history after the loss of the Spanish-American empire and from about 1840 down to 1897 was, together with the whole body of colonial administration, the object of constant solicitude and modification. This period is most instructive because it exhibits a great office facing the modern difficulties of colonial government, and after decades of contest ending in failure to sustain the sovereignty of Spain.

Continued under American occupation, the governor-generalship of the Philippines exists to-day as one of the disturbing but great and magnetic positions upon which depend the efforts of the white race to control the political future of tropical peoples. It is proposed in this paper to view this office in outline in its several periods and then to offer some reflections based on a comparison of Spanish and American experience.

The office was created on the model which had originated in Spain and been worked out in the New World. Seventy-three years intervened between the first voyage of Columbus and the definite occupation of the Philippines, and in this period the Spaniards had had some exceptionally severe lessons and gained much hard experience in colonial empire. This American experience was behind the Philippine conquest and determined its character. The institutions whereby Spain for two hundred and fifty years governed her vast empire were carried

as a nearly completed system to the Philippines. A great body of law defining the powers and relations of colonial officers already existed and was put into effect in the new possession. Thus the Philippines were spared a repetition of the periods of extravagant waste of life and accompanying disorder that fill the early pages of the history of most Spanish-American colonies. The list of governors exhibits not a few who were weak and inept, but no Ovando or Pedrarias.

During the period of conquest and settlement of the Philippines, America was relied on to supply most of the governors. Not a few had been developed in those remarkable training schools of colonial officials, the audiencias of the new world. The *adelantado* Legazpi, a model of courage, prudence and humane moderation, was appointed to lead the expedition that effected the conquest from the post of *escribano mayor* and *alcalde ordinario* of Mexico; Sande (1575–80) was an *oidor* of the audiencia of New Spain, and Gonzalo Ronquillo (1580–83) and Don de Vera (1584–90), officials of the same government. Bravo de Acuña (1602–06) had been governor of Cartagena, Hurtado de Corcuera (1635–44) governor of Panama, Manrique de Lara (1653–1663) *castellano* of Acapulco, and Torre Campo (1721–29) governor of Guatemala. There can be no question of the immense value to the government in the Philippines of the long training of these men in the American service.

Another field of promotion to the post of Philippine governor was the army in Flanders. Between 1609 and 1678 at least six governors, Juan de Silva (1609–16), Fajardo de Tenza (1615–24), Niño de Tabora (1626–32), Salcedo (1663–1668), a native of Brussels, Manuel de León (1669–77), a hero of Lützen and Nördlingen, and Vargas Hurtado (1678–84), were appointed from Spanish armies serving in the Low Countries. Several of these men were nobles or members of distinguished orders. To the intrepid and ambitious soldiers and lawyers of that day the Philippine appointment unquestionably appeared an opportunity for audacious service in the East, and a stepping-stone to higher rewards in the great offices of the New World, but the vast distance, the hardships of the long voyage, the tropical disease that assailed so many, and the bitter trials of the office itself all but rarely wore

out these men and hardly one returned. Few, indeed, like Manrique de Lara were able to endure a long term of service (in his case the unprecedented period of ten years), endure the persecutions of a severe *residencia* and return to Spain to die of old age in his native Málaga. To most the Philippine appointment was the end.

The selection of the governor was personally made by the king from a list of officers proposed by the Council of the Indies. When Niño de Tabora was appointed, not less than thirteen names were proposed, including one man, de Vivero, who had served an ad interim appointment as Philippine governor and returned to the governorship of Panama.[1] To read the terse *dossiers* of these nominees is to see outlined in a few pages the adventurous lives of the Spanish conquerors of the New World and the wide field of services presented by Spain's amazing empire. The appointment was set for eight years but, in case the governor survived, it sometimes extended to nine or ten. The average duration of office, however, was low and drew frequent unfavorable comment, especially when contrasted with the long periods of service of the dignitaries of the church.

During the latter part of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, when Spanish national life sank after the exhausting efforts of wars and conquest, emigration to the islands nearly ceased, and commercial restrictions checked economic development, torpor succeeded the intense energy of an earlier time. In this situation the governorship was repeatedly conferred upon the Archbishop of Manila or one of the several prelates. After the close of the eighteenth century the governor of the Philippines was nearly always a military or naval officer of high rank.

In the beginning, the Philippines were regarded as an outpost for further eastern conquests; the Spice Islands, the coasts of Siam and Indo-China were all essayed by Spanish expeditions, and designs of conquest of Japan and China filled the feverish brain of some of these daring exiles. But the sparse population of the archipelago, less than a million natives and a few hundred Spaniards, the insufficiency of revenues, and the enormous difficul-

[1] "Report of the Spanish Council of State on the appointment of a governor of the Philippines," 1625. Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 22, p. 27.

ties of Pacific transport eventually enforced a policy of economy and extreme simplicity of administration. The governor represented the all-embracing authority of the king. He was governor of the civil administration, appointed the provincial chiefs, or *alcaldes mayores*, and except where these officers received royal appointments, the other administrative officials. As civil head he sent and received embassies from the countries of the East and made peace and war. As captain-general he commanded all the armed forces in the colony, equipped fleets to invade the Moluccas or repel the pirates of Mindanao, built or repaired the fortifications of Manila and the naval yard of Cavite, and built and despatched the Acapulco galleon, eventually the sole communication with Mexico and Spain. The perilous situation of the colony, the menace of China and Japan, the struggle for the Moluccas, the centuries of Malay piracy and the incursions of the Dutch gave great prominence to the military responsibilities and the functions of the governor as captain-general. He had full responsibility for the revenues, nominated to *encomiendas* until these grants disappeared in the eighteenth century, and established the *estancos* or government monopolies. He allotted the *boletas* or tickets entitling the holder to cargo space on the Acapulco galleon, an economic privilege of vast importance to the colony. As vice-patron and representative of the king, he nominated to church benefices and controlled the financial support of the missions. For the discharge of these numerous services he had relatively few assistants. A royal treasurer, an accountant, a factor, the fiscal of the audiencia, a *teniente del rey*, who commanded the military plaza of Manila, and the field marshal and captains of his army were the usual officers. The audiencia, definitely established in 1595, served both as a supreme court with civil and criminal jurisdiction and as an administrative and legislative commission. Of this body the governor was president until 1844, and his relations to it form an interesting study.

The policy of Spain was to make the office of governor one of impressive dignity. He was the personal representative of the king and, so far as the slender resources of Manila permitted, lived in state. The official ceremonies attending his arrival and induction into office were elaborately prescribed. A guard of hal-

berdiers attended him when he walked abroad,[1] and a mounted escort when he rode. These formalities, however inconsistent with the actual resources of the position, were highly esteemed by the Spaniards. The complaint filed by the audiencia with the king against the governor, Tello de Guzmán, in 1598, has mainly to do with his offense of attending a meeting of that body in a short, colored coat and a hat with plumes.[2]

While encouraging and abetting the heroic enterprises of her expatriated sons, Spain early sought to provide balances and restrictions upon their overtopping ambitions. These attempted limitations can perhaps nowhere be better studied than in the history of the Philippines, where the remoteness of the colony and the difficulty of supervision occasioned situations of the most sensational character. Some of the practices used as checks by the Spanish government would not be approved by the more advanced experience of the present day, but they are at least characteristic of the thought of the period, which was singularly distrustful, and counted no public servant too loyal or exalted to be watched and restrained.

In the first place, Spanish officialdom encouraged direct report on the policy and character of the governor from subordinate officials and from the ecclesiastical administration. From the foundation of the colony at Manila other royal officials than the governor wrote directly to the king. Of the first expedition to settle the Philippines, Legazpi, the treasurer, Lavezaris, and the factor, Mirandaola, all wrote independently to Philip II. The fiscal, Ayala, in 1589, wrote expressing complaints both of civil and ecclesiastical administration. The *ayuntamiento* of Manila in 1601 registered its complaints against the *oidor* and lieutenant-governor, Dr. Antonio Morga. A letter of Bishop Santibañez of 1598 informs the king that Governor Tello de Guzmán had called together all the honorable people, even to the master of camp, and all the captains, and while they stood bare-headed, berated them worse than he would his cobbler: "You do not realize that I can have all your heads cut off, and you think that

[1] The antique halberds of this guard, which was suppressed in 1868, were part of the military trophies of the American army after the capture of Manila. The writer saw a number of them then.

[2] "Report of the Audiencia on the conduct of Tello," B. and R., vol. 10, p. 183.

I do not know that you have written to the king against me." "Your majesty," says the bishop in this letter, "should not inquire into the particular vices of Don Francisco Tello, but should picture to yourself the universal idea of all vices brought to the utmost degree and placed in a lawyer. If one were to seek faithfully over all Spain for a man of most debauched conscience, even the vilest and most vicious to come to this country and corrupt it with his example, there could not be found one more so than he."[1]

It does not appear that the Council of the Indies or the king followed the practice of acquainting the governor with these attacks upon his policy or his character, nor do they appear to have been moved thereby to any decisive action, but we must suppose that they had their effect in creating distrust at the Spanish court, undermining its confidence in the governor and weakening the loyal support of his efforts. Modern administration follows the principle of requiring official correspondence between the government of a dependency and the home authorities to proceed within the cognizance of the chief executives of the dependency, and present-day standards of loyalty and of subordination forbid irresponsible criticism, but Spain proceeded upon the different principle of setting subordinates to watch their superiors, and trusted to jealousy, pique and self-interest to expose the deficiencies or corrupt character of those set in authority.

The legitimate balance upon the authority of the governor was the audiencia. The Audiencia of Manila was created on the model of the American audiencias, and was the tenth to be established by the Spanish government in their organization of empire.[2] It was first erected in 1584 under the presidency of the governor, Dr. Santiago de Vera, but was suppressed, largely for reasons of economy, in 1590, and reëstablished in 1598 by a royal decree dated November 26, 1595. On the vacancy of the office of governor the audiencia regularly assumed the duties of the position, the direction of military affairs being confided to the *maestre de campo*, or more usually to one member of the audiencia.[3] It had the power to grant *encomiendas* of Indians if the governor neglected

[1] Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 10, pp. 146, 147.
[2] *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*. Libro 2, tit. 15, ley 11.
[3] *Recop.*, vol. 2, pp, 15, 57, 58.

this duty. It reported annually on the operation of local government and was a board for the audit of accounts, and for the taking of the *residencia* of subordinate officials.[1] Sitting as a chamber of "royal consent" (*sala de real acuerdo*) it consulted upon matters of government and administration and participated in the enactment of local ordinances. Such a resolution was called an *auto acordado*.[2] It also discharged certain commissions such as the management of the praedial tithes, the public lands, temporalities, and the *fondos de Agaña*, which seem to have been funds for the support of the establishment in the Marianas Islands or the Ladrones.[3] It appears to have been usually in accord with the governor both in support of his general policy and in the interminable and disastrous disputes which arose between the governors and the ecclesiastical authorities.[1]

It was the church that constituted the real check upon the power of the governor of the Philippines. The conflicts which arose between the governors and the archbishops of Manila were never resolutely dealt with by the Spanish crown, nor were the causes of enmity settled. The result was an obvious impairment of authority which nearly brought the colony to ruin. The struggle first became acute about the middle of the seventeenth century, under Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera. No Philippine governor of the seventeenth century more impresses the imagination than this active and valiant man, about whose character a tempest of argument has waged. He dealt the Moros of Mindanao the heaviest blow that these pirates were to receive until the middle of the nineteenth century, but his rule is also associated with the loss of Formosa and of the Portuguese colony of Macao. When relieved by his successor in 1644 he was subjected to bitter charges by his

[1] A brief but clear account of the functions of the Audiencia of Manila and its relations with the governor is given by the *oidor* Dr. Antonio de Morga in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, first published in Mexico City in 1609. Writing from his own experience Morga states that the governor attended privately to all that related to war and government with the advice of the oidores in difficult matters; that he tried the criminal offenses of regular paid soldiers, but that these had a right of appeal to the Audiencia; that he sat with the Audiencia for the trial of civil and criminal cases and together with this body provided what was necessary for the administration of finances (edition by W. E. Retana, Madrid, 1909, p. 222); that the Audiencia each year audited the accounts of the royal officials and after balancing them sent them to the "tribunal of accounts" at Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 224).

[2] See *Colección de Autos Acordados de la Real Chancillería de Filipinas* (5 vols., Manila, 1861–66).

[3] J. de la Rosa, "La Administración Pública en Filipinas" in *La Política de España en Filipinas*, vol. 3, p. 115.

opponents in his *residencia*, and for five years was held a prisoner in the fortresses of Santiago and Cavite. "A strange turn of fortune!" exclaims a contemporary writer, the Dominican Friar Navarrete, "Don Sebastian had been the most absolute and the most dreaded lord in the world!" The conflict between priest and soldier long continued. Governor Diego de Salcedo in 1668 was made a prisoner by the Commissioner of the Inquisition and died at sea while being sent to Mexico for trial. Governor Vargas Hurtado (1678-84) suffered excommunication, and after a *residencia* of four years, died at sea on the way to Mexico. The troubles of Governor Bustamente with the archbishop and the religious orders led to his assassination in 1719.

The *residencia* was a peculiarly Spanish institution. It was the trial and audit of accounts of an official at the end of his term by his successor. It frequently occupied months and even years of time, and involved a retiring executive in great delay and expense, and not infrequently in heavy penalties. The case of Corcuera has already been referred to, and some of his successors were hardly more fortunate.

The Italian traveller Gemelli Careri, who visited the Philippines in 1697, thus recorded his impression of the proceeding: "This Grandeur and Power [of the governor] is somewhat eclips'd by a dreadful Trial the wicked People of *Manila* make their governors go through. . . . The Accusers have 60 Days allow'd them, after Proclamation made through the Province, to bring in their Complaints, and 30 Days to Prosecute before the Judge, who is generally the Successor in the Government by Special Commission from the King and his Supream Council of the *Indies*." After citing the cases of Corcuera, Fajardo and Manrique de Lara, the last of whom, after a life of extraordinary adventure ending with his *residencia* at Manila, regained his native land to die in orders, Gemelli records: "In short since the Islands were Conquer'd, no Governor has returned to *Spain* but he and one more; for all of them either break their Hearts at their Tryal or Dye with Hardship by the way. It is certain this Tryal is worth one hundred thousand Crowns to the new governor which he that goes off must have ready to come off well in this dreadful Tryal." [1]

[1] Churchill, *Collection of Voyages*, vol. 4, p. 411.

It can hardly be doubted that the prospect of this bitter experience awaiting a governor at the termination of his office undermined his courage and weakened his conduct of affairs.

Besides the ordeal of the *residencia* the government of the Philippines was occasionally subjected to the inspection of a *visitador*. In 1631 the *oidor* Rojas of the audiencia of Mexico was sent to the Philippines in this capacity and suspended the *oidores* of the Manila audiencia. The exact relation between the administration of the Philippines and that of Mexico and the degree of control exercised by the latter over the former are somewhat difficult to determine. Theoretically the Philippines, like the captaincies-general of Yucatan and Guatemala, were under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain. The viceroy, or sometimes the audiencia of Mexico, repeatedly designated the *ad interim* successor to a governor of the Philippines until the appointment could be settled by the king. During the suspension of the Manila audiencia cases were regularly appealed to the audiencia at Mexico City. The commissioner of the Inquisition in the Philippines was an agent of the Holy Office in Mexico. All communication for several centuries between the Philippines and Spain lay through the Acapulco galleon. Mexico was relied upon for financial and military support and for an annual subsidy or *situado*, such as was also furnished to the financially weak governments of Venezuela, Habana, and Yucatan. Yet the actual degree of oversight does not seem to have been great, nor to have had appreciable influence upon the conduct of Philippine affairs.

The Spanish system as above described was undeniably fatal to the initiative, independence, and vigor of her Philippine governors. Placed in a difficult situation, distant from the Spanish court by half the circumference of the globe, compelled to rely upon Mexico for economic support, the focus of jealousy and contention, balked by ecclesiastical rivals and civil associates, and conscious of the grim day of reckoning at the end of their terms, the governors of the Philippines during most of the eighteenth century sank in character, and their achievements were too futile to be recalled.

The task of reorganizing and reinvigorating the government of

the Philippines began with the last third of the eighteenth century, and continued with fluctuations down to the end of 1898. The higher intelligence of the nation from time to time discerned the weaknesses of the organization and indicated remedies, but reforms were never carried through with completeness, and the end was revolt and disaster. The history of these attempts to modernize the Spanish administration of the Philippines is most instructive, but only its main outlines can be indicated here.

The capture of Manila by the English in 1762 aroused the Spanish government to the appointment and support of governors of ability, among them Anda y Salazar and Basco y Vargas. The latter, who placed the finances of the Philippines upon an independent basis through the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, and who did something to encourage agriculture and industries, was also responsible for introducing into the administration of the Philippines the separation of governmental and financial administration which had been effected in the vice-royalties of Mexico and Peru. On recommendation of Basco there was issued the royal order of July 7, 1784, creating the Intendency of the Army and of Finance, and to the position of intendant was appointed an *oidor* of the audiencia, Carvajal. This official established in the islands five subordinate intendancies and submitted plans for the fiscal and agricultural development of the islands. The new organization, however, was short lived. In 1787 the superintendence of finance, by royal decree, devolved once more upon the governor and captain-general. The modification of the earlier unspecialized centralization of authority in the direction of segregating financial administration rested upon a sufficiently definite theory to commend itself to Spanish authority, and after a half century of experiment, the financial administration was reorganized as the *Intendencia de Hacienda*. The governor continued to be the "superior head" of this branch, but the immediate direction was confided to the *Intendente General*.[1]

A further specialization of 1861 deprived the governor-general of his judicial powers. At the same time the audiencia was divested of its administrative and consultative functions and be-

[1] San Pedro, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, p. 10.

came simply the supreme court for the archipelago.[1] With this change there was created a new body advisory to the governor, known as the Council of Administration (*Consejo de Administración*), made up of high officials, civil, military and ecclesiastic. An inner advisory body was the Board of Authorities (*Junta de Autoridades*). The principle that the Spanish sought to apply here was one which has been widely used in the colonial administration of the French, the Dutch, and the English, namely, to concentrate executive authority in a single person, but to subject the exercise of this authority to the expert advice of responsible associates. Expectations of the usefulness of this body in the Philippines do not seem, however, to have been realized, and at the time of the ending of its existence it was declared a useless organization.[2] Its last assembling took place in the city of Manila under the guns of Dewey's fleet and amidst the general apprehension that prevailed on that occasion.

Still further specialization took place with the creation of a general department of civil administration. The conception of this reform was to segregate from military affairs and from the determination of policy the execution of functions having to do with civil service and with the development of the islands, the people and resources. The *Dirección General de Administración Civil* was decreed as early as 1858,[3] but actually established in 1874, and the position of director was occupied in the last decades of Spanish rule by a number of men who made a distinct impression upon the well-being of the islands. It had two branches, *Gobierno* and *Fomento*, and embraced the bureaus (*inspecciones*) of mines, forests, public works, poor relief, sanitation and public instruction. As advisory bodies to the chiefs of these bureaus there were formed a number of consultative boards on the principle above noted.

In case of death or absence the governor-general was succeeded by a general next in command of the military forces, who was designated the *Segundo Cabo*, and in case of his dis-

[1] San Pedro, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 38.

[2] See the testimony of Don Cayetano Arellano before the Philippine Commission in 1899. *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, vol. 2, p. 24.

[3] Berriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, Anuario de 1888*, vol. 1, pp. 634–643, San Pedro, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 134.

ability and the absence of another army officer, of general rank, a decree of 1862 provided that the government should be exercised by the naval officer in command of the Philippine station.[1]

With the awakening of new interest in dependencies observable in the last half century of the Spanish period, and with the creation in 1863 of the *Ministerio de Ultramar*,[2] initiative in legislation seems to have passed to the officialdom in Spain. This appears to have been increasingly so after the establishment of steamship connection by way of the Suez Canal and the connection of Manila by telegraph cable with the government at Madrid. Before this period the development of the Philippine administration seems to have been largely in the hands of the governors at Manila, subject to the approval of the government in Spain; thus the governorship of Clavería (1844–49) was characterized by the initiation of many reforms, the establishment of new provincial governments, the bestowal of surnames upon the natives, the correction of the calendar, the final suppression of piracy; and his proposals seem to have invariably found approval at Madrid. Probably no governor after Clavería made so original an impression upon the islands.

What the later governors did effect, however, was to reflect the changes in the politics of Spain. The momentary triumph of liberal politics at Madrid meant encouragement to the aspiration of the natives of the Philippines, frequently to be followed by the adoption of a conservative policy and the appointment of a representative of reaction. Thus the period of advancement and reform from 1880 to 1888, represented by the "liberal" governors, Primo de Rivera, Jovellar and Terrero, was followed by the reactionary rule of General Valeriano Weyler, 1888–91, whose name is familiar to Americans through his disastrous government of Cuba, and who exemplified both the possibilities and the abuses of the office as it was in the last period of its existence.[3]

One final point must be made in estimating the character of this office under Spain, and this was the jealous reservation by the home government of the legislative power. Neither in the

[1] San Pedro, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 134. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 185.
[3] W. E. Retana, *Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1896).

Philippines nor in the Western Hemisphere was there ever a colonial legislature established under Spanish authority. The great laws and decrees of the Spanish colonial system were drafted and promulgated in Spain. This impairment of legislative responsibility in the colony had its undoubted effect in retarding and discouraging the progress of the government, and giving to colonial laws the effect of detachment from the actual conditions which they were meant to remedy. In spite of their august source and the solemnity of their promulgation, it is of interest to note how frequently they were disregarded. Morga, writing as early as 1597, states frankly that royal decrees sent to the Philippines by His Majesty are mostly suspended or not effectively observed.[1] Indeed, the Spanish authorities at Madrid seemed to hesitate to give full and immediate effect to their determinations and to have promoted the development of a power in the local government to suspend or limit the action of a decree pending further correspondence.[2] This power of the *cumplase*, as it came to be known, was sometimes exercised in matters of extraordinary significance. Two whole "titles" of the Civil Code promulgated for the Philippines in 1889 were suspended and the greater part of the Civil Marriage Act of 1870 was suppressed by the governor-general. The radical decree of Moret transforming the Dominican University of Santo Tomás into a government institution, which threw the religious orders in the Philippines into consternation, was entirely withheld from publication by the governor-general and never went into force. The reform law of local government, the "Maura decree," [3] was made effective only in certain provinces and had hardly become operative when the Spanish system fell before the American conquest of the islands.

The city of Manila was captured by the American expeditionary forces on August 13, 1898, and on the following day terms of capitulation were signed. From this date American government in the Philippines begins. General Wesley Merritt, commanding the American army, issued a proclamation announcing the es-

[1] See "Report of Conditions," B. and R., vol. 10, p. 81.

[2] This discretion was recognized very early by the Laws of the Indies and received a late interpretation in a Royal Order of 1876. Given in Berriz, *Diccionario, Annuario*, 1888, vol. 2, p. 95.

[3] See LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, vol. 1, p. 43.

tablishment of military rule and assuring the Filipinos of protection and guarantees. It was published in accordance with instructions of the President which the commanding general brought.[1] General Arthur McArthur was appointed "provost marshal general and civil governor of Manila," and other officers were detailed to necessary administrative positions.

The office of military governor covers the period August 14, 1898, to July 4, 1901. It was filled by the following officers of the United States army: Major-General Wesley Merritt, for the brief period Aug. 14-29, 1898, Major-General E. S. Otis, August 29, 1898 to May 5, 1900, and Major-General Arthur McArthur, May 5, 1900 to July 4, 1901. The powers exercised by these military governors were very extensive and had an important influence upon the subsequent government of the archipelago. Acting under authority from the President of the United States and in the absence of congressional legislation, the military governors exercised a most liberal legislative power. By proclamation and by general orders they continued in operation the municipal law that had prevailed under the Spanish government, reëstablished a system of courts, including provost-courts and the supreme court or audiencia, and for the trial of criminal offences subsequently established a system of military commissions.[2] Where the Spanish law was believed to need correction it was unhesitatingly reformed. An entirely new code of criminal procedure, introducing into the jurisprudence of the islands the English principles of search warrants and the writ of habeas corpus, was promulgated by General Order No. 58, April 23, 1900, and is still the law of criminal procedure for the archipelago.[3] The law of civil marriage, which had long been a question of intense political and ecclesiastical controversy, was similarly promulgated.[4] Under military supervision municipal governments were set up and first one and subsequently another more elaborate municipal code was decreed. Military authority put into prompt operation provisional tariff laws and immigration regulations,

[1] Senate Document 208, p. 85, Report of General Otis for 1899, p. 17.
[2] Report of Major-General McArthur, 1901, vol. 2, pp. 42, 43.
[3] Printed in *Public Laws enacted by the Philippine Commission*, vol. 1, p. 1082.
[4] General Order No. 68, December 1899, amended by General Order No 70, 1900, printed in *Public Laws enacted by the Philippine Commission*, vol. 1, p. 1078 ff.

which excluded the Chinese from entrance into the islands. These latter regulations were later reformed and regulated by act of Congress.

It was quite in keeping with the past powers of the position and with the policy long followed by the Spanish governors of Manila that General Otis should have commissioned a general officer to proceed to the Sulu archipelago and negotiate with the Sultan of Sulu a treaty of peace and protection. This document, which was secured with difficulty and misapprehension on both sides, followed the traditional lines of Spanish policy in handling this semi-independent Malay power. One article of the treaty however, which recognized slavery in the Sulu archipelago, was disapproved by the President of the United States.

Following closely along the lines of traditional Spanish authority also was the power exercised by the military governor to expel or exile undesirable persons. This power was used against Americans as well as aliens, but perhaps the case that attracted most attention was that of the exile and confinement on the island of Guam of thirty-nine Filipino "Irreconcilables," including the leading Filipino revolutionist Apolinario Mabini. Was it also the tradition of the *cumplase* which induced General Otis to omit certain portions and modify others of President McKinley's notable proclamation of American sovereignty cabled to Manila at the end of December 1898?[1]

On the administrative side the Filipino government as finally constituted by military and civil authorities shows even more definitely the influence of the Spanish institutions and traditions that had preceded it. Except in the single case of the presidency of the United States American prejudice has been strong against conferring centralized administrative control upon a single executive head. The American State governor, while he has arisen in recent years to a position of great political importance, is in no case the executive head of State administration, which is dis-

[1] General Otis omitted entirely from the proclamation the statement of the right of the United States to the archipelago both by conquest and cession, and the intention of the government to at once extend its authority. Other clauses were expanded and to certain assurances from Washington he added his own. (See Senate Document 331, pp. 776–778; and General Otis' Report, 1899, opposite p. 359. See also the account in LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, p. 401 and note.)

tributed among State officers having a similar tenure with the governor or confided to commissions and boards only partially under his control. The same disposition has manifested itself in the creation by Congress of government for the territories, as is exhibited to-day in the cases of Hawaii and Alaska. In neither of these two last cases is the governor of the territory the center of the administration and the recognized avenue of communication between all departments of the federal and local governments. Such a diffusion of responsibility was happily prevented in the Philippines, first we may believe by the abiding influence of the office of governor-general under Spain, and in the second place by the period of military government now being described. As branches of civil administration were recreated during the period of military governorship these offices were not subordinated to departments at Washington, but were made responsible to the military governor.

The responsibility for captured funds and property occasioned prompt action with respect to those branches of Spanish administration which had been embraced in the *Intendencia General de Hacienda*. By General Order No. 5, September 17, 1898, the office of *Intendente General* was suspended. The duties had already been separated into several departments: the treasury, the department of audits (General Order No. 3, 1898), the department of customs (August 20, 1898), and a department of internal revenue (August 21, 1898). Later on those branches of administration which had been under the *Dirección General de Administración Civil* were taken up and their work revived. Public instruction in the city of Manila was committed to the oversight of a chaplain of one of the army regiments and later an army officer was detailed for the entire archipelago. Public health was entrusted to the medical corps of the army. In March, 1900 (General Order No. 31) the Mining Bureau restored the *Inspección de Minas* and inherited its collections and laboratory, and on April 14 of the same year the Forestry Bureau took up the forestry work of the former *Inspección General de Montes*. The organization of these offices as well as others which followed, under legislation of the Philippine Commission, took on a bureaucratic character, and thus from the beginning Phil-

ippine administration in American hands was unified, centralized, and made responsible to the chief executive of the archipelago.

Superficial critics and observers of the Philippine government have on a few occasions advocated the placing of one or another field of Philippine administration, as for example education, under the direction of the corresponding bureau of the United States federal service. Fortunately such suggestions have received no encouragement. Both American and European experience fully justify the course which Philippine administration has taken. The French experimented for years under the influence of "assimilation" ideas with an attempt to administer Algeria through extension to their African possessions of the administrative work of the several ministries at Paris. During this period, which extended from 1881 to 1896, local officials in the several departments reported not to the governor-general at Algiers, but to their respective ministries of the national government. This system of *services rattachés* gave such unsatisfactory results that a senatorial commission under the chairmanship of M. Jules Ferry reported in 1892 in favor of its abandonment. The policy of centralization under the governor-general was inaugurated with generally excellent results.[1] Alaska, however, is a present example of a dependency where administrative authority instead of being concentrated in the territorial governor is distributed between numerous local representatives of ununited services, who report to their distant heads at Washington. The unanimous voice of those qualified to judge of the workings of this decentralized system testifies to its disadvantages.

On September 1, 1900, the Philippine Commission, composed of Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Hon. Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of California, entered upon its official responsibilities in the Philippines. Its powers are defined in the President's instructions to the commission transmitted through the Secretary of War under date of April 7, 1900.[2] Its general mandate was to "continue and perfect

[1] Girault, *Principes de Colonisation et de Législation Coloniale* (1904), vol. 2, pp. 388–389.

[2] Printed in *Public Laws of the Philippine Commission*, vol. 1, p. 43 ff.

the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities." On the first day of September that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which was of a legislative nature was to be transferred from the military governor to the commission. This was specifically described as including the powers of taxation and appropriation of public funds, establishment of an educational system, of a civil service, of courts and municipal and departmental governments. It was further provided that the commission should have the power to appoint officers "under the judicial, educational, and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for."

It seems that it was the original intention of the President of the United States in appointing the Philippine Commission to create a plural executive. The instructions read: "The commissioners . . . will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as president of the board." Power and responsibility obviously were collegiate and not individual. The president of the board was clearly only a presiding officer. However, as the Philippine insurrection drew to a close in the spring of 1901 and the improvement in the military condition of the archipelago warranted the establishment of a complete civil government, and the substitution for the office of military governor of one of a civil character, the plan of a collegiate executive underwent transformation, and on June 21 the Secretary of War issued to the president of the commission an appointment as civil governor of the Philippine Islands, with the power to "exercise the executive authority in all civil affairs in the government of the Philippine Islands heretofore exercised in such affairs by the military governor of the Philippines." The appointment provided that "the power to appoint civil officers, heretofore vested in the Philippine Commission, or in the military governor, will be exercised by the civil governor with the advice and consent of the commission. The military governor by the same order was relieved from the performance of civil duties, although his authority was to continue in districts where insurrection still continued or public order was not sufficiently restored. Under date of October 29, 1901, President Roosevelt appointed

Mr. Luke E. Wright "vice-governor" with authority to act in the absence or incapacity of the civil governor.

The tendency of "government by commission" is to work away from the principle of collegiate responsibility with which commission government begins, and commit specific responsibilities to individual members. As a consequence, unless by a rigid practice all important actions of individual members are reviewed and approved in commission, the principle of joint responsibility is impaired. This was the development which the Philippine Commission eventually underwent. Acting under instructions from the Secretary of War on September 6, 1901, the commission enacted Act No. 222, which provided for the organization of four departments: Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction, to the head of which departments the President, through the Secretary of War, appointed the four original colleagues of Mr. Taft. Section 5 of this act provides that the secretaries shall exercise the executive control conferred upon them under the general supervision of the civil governor, and that the executive control of the central government over provincial and municipal governments and the civil service should be exercised directly by the civil governor through an executive secretary.

It is difficult to assert definitely how the principle of collegiate responsibility assumed when the Philippine Commission was created has worked out. The other members of the Philippine Commission, now consisting of nine members altogether, are not mere adjutants or cabinet secretaries of the governor-general. They, like himself, are appointees of the President of the United States. They may outrank him in length of service and experience, and may and frequently have differed from him on matters of policy. Their oversight of the branches of administration committed to them and of the bureaus in which this administration is organized, is to a large degree independent of the governor-general.[1] The governor-general in the absence of a commissioner, however, may assume the direction of his department, and

[1] By the rules of the commission, the governor-general and each Secretary is a standing committee of one on all matters pertaining to the particular department which each represents. *Commission Journal, First Philippine Legislature, Inaugural Session*, p. 71, and *Second Session*, p. 79.

on certain branches of the administration, as for instance constabulary and the preservation of public order, his policy has usually been decisive. He possesses the power to proclaim martial law, suspend the ordinary civil rights granted by the Philippine bill and even to "concentrate" the population, but he must exercise these extraordinary powers with the approval of the Philippine Commission. He has, moreover, the right to inspect and even personally correct any branch of administration whatever. The custom followed by all of the chief executives of making frequent trips through the provinces and by personal observation satisfying themselves as to the workings of insular and provincial administration has naturally led to the governor-general's taking cognizance of the working of all departments of government. Furthermore he may direct the dismissal of any official except a justice of the supreme court, a Philippine commissioner, or the insular auditor, who is appointed by the Secretary of War, and this great disciplinary power makes his authority respected by all elements of administration. Furthermore, while the appointments of subordinate officials are regularly approved by the heads of departments, the directors of bureaus and the assistant directors are made by the governor-general. Good policy recommends consultation between him and the head of a department concerned and this consultation is usually had, but there have been undoubted instances of conflict of desire, and in these cases the will of the governor-general appears to have prevailed. Furthermore, the civil service regulations are promulgated by the governor-general and his power over these rules and their operation appears to be complete. It is doubtful, however, if the legal relation existing between him and the heads of the departments is a proper one. The survival of collegiate responsibility is of questionable advantage. The principle recognized in other colonial governments of making the governor-general alone responsible for executive policy and limiting the function of his colleagues to that of an advisory council possesses undoubted advantages. Dissensions between members of the commission which the governor-general was powerless to correct or override and which could only be settled at Washington by a necessarily slow process have undoubtedly embarrassed the governor-general

in the fulfillment of his responsibility and have in a considerable degree been responsible for a decline in the standing and effectiveness of the commission itself.[1]

By the "Philippine Bill" approved July 1, 1902, Congress approved, ratified, and confirmed the actions of the President of the United States in creating the Philippine Commission and the offices of civil governor and vice-governor and the secretaries of departments, and provided that laws of the Philippine Commission up to that time enacted "by authority of the President of the United States" should thereafter read "by authority of the United States." [2]

The above legislation comprises the principal acts establishing the office of chief executive in the Philippines and defining its powers. These powers have however been further amplified in two ways; by acts of the Philippine Commission and of the Philippine Legislature and by the assumption of certain powers as inherent in or traditional to the office of Philippine governor.[3]

Among the powers of the governor-general which have been developed by action of the legislative authority is a very considerable "ordinance power." The European practice of confining a statute to a bare declaration of principles or policy and authorizing the development of details by "Orders in Council" or *décrets* of the executive is so little understood in America that where such a practice arises under an American government it deserves attention. A statute of an American legislature too

[1] See *Congressional Record*, vol. 49, p. 3089.

[2] All the steps taken for the pacification of the Philippines and the organization there of government were taken under authority of the President and by virtue of his constitutional powers as commander-in-chief of the army. Congress gave no sanction to the President's work until the Philippine Bill noted above, although on March 2, 1901, it did recognize American possession by a section of the army appropriation bill, which ratified the customs law as enacted by the Philippine Commission and added a revenue law granting refunds to the Philippine government of customs collected on American imports from the Philippines. This law of Congress further provided that no person in the Philippine Islands should be convicted of treason "unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court." On April 29, 1902, shortly before the enactment of the Philippine Bill, an act was passed applying the Chinese immigration laws to the archipelago.

[3] The title of civil governor created in distinction to that of military governor was held by Mr. Taft. After his retirement from the Philippines and appointment as Secretary of War he secured for his successor the adoption by Congress of the title "governor-general," thereby reviving the high designation used during the last period of Spanish rule and placing the office on a parity of dignity with that of other colonial empires of first importance.

frequently aims to cover every minor detail and anticipate every situation that may arise in the administration of the law. The rigidity thus imposed occasions constant amendment by subsequent legislatures.

The absence of any clear conception of "ordinance power" in the minds of the Philippine Commission led to their expressing the legislative will in minute detail. The result is that the bulk of the acts — they amount to exactly 1800 — passed by the commission during the period of its sole legislative authority, from 1900 to 1907, are not laws or *lois* in the French sense, but minor amplifications, suspensions and administrative adjustments properly forming the field of executive ordinances or decrees.

Nevertheless the very experience of the commission in repealing and amending its own work led it gradually to intrust certain legislative powers to the governor-general. This process was augmented by the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly. As the period of its exclusive legislative authority drew to a close the commission labored diligently and with obvious purpose to bring the body of Philippine laws to a state which would not require further enactments, if legislation proved impossible with the setting up of a concurrent lawmaking chamber. A number of acts conferred powers on the governor-general in explicit expectation that the legislative power would thereafter be exercised less freely. For example the preamble to Act 1748 recites that whereas changes in the boundaries and capital seats of provinces may be made necessary by new routes of communication and other economic development and "Whereas the Legislature will not, in all probability, be in session more than ninety days per annum; and Whereas it is desirable that there may be provided by law an expeditious method by which such changes may be made," it is enacted that whenever in the judgment of the governor-general the public welfare requires, he may by executive order change the boundaries or subdivide or merge any province, sub-province, municipality, township, or administrative jurisdiction, and in case new offices are made necessary by subdivision, create such offices and fill them either by appointment or election. Action under the powers of this act has been constant. Through its

exercise hundreds of towns once deprived of their autonomy have been restored to their earlier status.[1]

An earlier act of the same character (No. 1701) authorized the governor-general, in the interests of economy, to consolidate the office of provincial fiscal for two or more provinces, and this power has also been exercised repeatedly.

Another remarkable power exercised for some years was conferred by a clause in a general appropriation bill authorizing the governor-general to combine any two or more positions and from the united salaries form a new position of higher grade, or to authorize the appointment of two or more persons for the salary provided for a single position.[2] These powers were exercised by Governor-General Forbes in such a manner as to arouse the opposition of the assembly and with the passage of the first appropriation bill under Governor-General Harrison such action was made illegal.[3] It is doubtful, from the scientific standpoint, whether a power to recast the budgetary provisions should ever have been conferred. In a representative government which, on the legislative side, that of the Philippines is, the power to determine the number and grade of offices and the appropriations for specific ends is a legislative function.[4]

Acts of the commission have frequently left to executive authority the determination of the date when they should become operative. For years the land tax was difficult to collect and the continuous petitioning of provincial boards for legislative relief from the payment of this tax was finally settled by conferring upon the governor-general the power to grant such suspension (Act 1713).

Prior to the inauguration of the first session of the Philippine assembly, the ordering and arrangement of the budget for submission to the legislative body was under the governor-general's immediate control, as this work was done by the executive secretary. There can be little difference of opinion that this is the

[1] See *Executive Orders and Proclamations*, issued by the governor-general, Manila, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914.

[2] Act 1679, Sec. 3.

[3] Act 2319, Sections 2 to 6.

[4] This action taken by the governor-general was also the cause of serious conflict of opinion between him and one of the commissioners. See *Congressional Record*, vol. 49, 3105–3107.

scientific and proper manner for budget submission. American practice, the faults of which are becoming obvious to the public, has however confided this task to legislative committees, with the consequent development of the American institutions of "logrolling" and the "pork barrel." It was particularly unfortunate that this tradition should have been so fixed in the minds of the members of the Philippine Commission as to induce them at once to relinquish this properly executive function to a committee of the assembly. The appropriation bill passed by the first legislature was indeed better than might have been anticipated, but it fell short of what an appropriation bill, properly considered from the standpoint of government needs, should be. Owing to the inability thereafter of commission and assembly to agree upon another appropriation it remained the regular budget during the entire administration of Governor-General Forbes, 1909 to 1913.[1]

The governor-general possesses very ample powers of granting pardons and paroles. The authority seems to be descended from that exercised by the military governor. Neither Congress nor the Philippine Commission ever directly bestowed it. On June 2, 1902, a general amnesty was extended to political prisoners in the Philippines by the President. Ordinary criminal offenders were not included but the President directed that "special application may be made by those exempted from the amnesty to *the proper authority* for pardon." This "proper authority" is conceived to be the governor-general. The power of pardon has been liberally used by all governors-general, sometimes upon the recommendation of a board of pardons appointed by the executive to review records, and otherwise upon examination of applications by the governor-general himself.

Under conditions that exist in the Philippines the pardoning power is one of immense delicacy and political importance. Its exercise is surrounded with difficulties. Among notable cases have been the decision of Governor-General Smith in the application for pardon of the "cabecillas" Sakay, Montalon, and de

[1] The Philippine Bill providing for the assembly, required that in case of failure to pass an appropriation bill for a new budget period the former budget would continue in force with identical appropriations. This device, which seems to have been borrowed from the Constitution of Japan, and which has been extended also to the government of Porto Rico, prevents the assembly from coercing the commission by the historic method of refusal to "grant supply."

Vega, who, after surrender were condemned to death, and finally executed, and the recent case of General Noriel. Pardon having been refused for this man, application was made directly to President Wilson, who granted a stay. Thereupon, according to reliable reports, Governor-General Harrison tendered his resignation. The interposition of the President was then withdrawn and the execution of General Noriel followed on the day fixed. Legislation has twice extended the scope of the pardoning power by authorizing conditional pardons and paroles (Acts 1524 and 1561).[1]

The power of exile and deportation once exercised by the governor-general under Spain and by the military governor is hardly to be so easily explained and indeed seems to be irreconcilable with the constitutional system extended to the Philippines. Yet without doubt the governor-general has this power at least as respects aliens, including not merely aliens seeking admission who may, without judicial review of their acts, be expelled by immigration authorities, but also aliens long resident in the Philippines. In 1910 certain Chinese, twelve in number, designated by the Chinese consul-general as persons prejudicial to the good order of the Chinese community, were arrested and conveyed to China by order of the governor-general or at least under his authority. One had been for years a resident in the islands and had children in the public schools. Subsequently several of the number returned and sought protection by a writ of injunction to police and constabulary authorities and also to the governor-general. A suit for damages against Governor-General Forbes was also filed. The supreme court of the Philippines to which the cases were appealed upheld the power of the governor-general to deport obnoxious aliens as a power inherent in the executive without specific legislative grant.[2] Meanwhile the Philippine Legislature passed an act defining "due process of law" in such cases to be a hearing before the governor-general or his authorized

[1] The Municipal Board of Manila for a long time followed the practice of pardoning offenders convicted of violations of municipal ordinances without other warrant for such action than that such power was exercised under military rule by the Provost Marshal General.

[2] Forbes et al. *vs.* Tiaco et al., 16 *Philippine Reports*, 534. This decision on somewhat different grounds has been upheld by the Supreme Court. Tiaco *vs.* Forbes, 228 U.S. 549.

representative, and providing further that the act should not be construed to authorize the "extrañamiento, destierro, deportation or other form of expulsion from the islands of Filipinos" (Act 2113).

This case raises the general question of the power of courts to review the acts of administrative officers. In the United States this is the recognized procedure. It is well settled that the acts of the President of the United States are not judicially reviewable, nor will the ordinary writs lie against him, but this does not apply to his cabinet officers nor have the courts always applied this exemption to the governor of a state. We have seen that the Manila court directed a writ of injunction to the governor-general. But in the main the action of courts for reviewing administrative acts, for determining conflicts of jurisdiction, or for interpreting administrative powers, has been extremely sparse. In place of judicial action the commission has existed to adjust, or determine by executive instruction or new legislation, any conflict of powers, and to redress by direct action any abusive or unwise conduct of a subordinate officer. Aggrieved persons have found this method of redress so advantageous that there has existed practically no inducement to appeal to the courts. The commission has in fact acted in certain cases almost as an "administrative court" in the continental sense. But the informality of its proceedings and the absence of record have delayed the growth of anything like a body of "administrative law." The situation is one to suggest the establishment of a superior administrative court in the proper sense, to hear cases and recommend action in a large class of responsibilities in which the governor-general has been intrusted with an administrative-judicial power. These cases include review of disputed elections, charges of malfeasance and removal from office, disqualification from holding public office; decisions on appeal from provincial boards on the legality of municipal ordinances; the reservation of public lands; the fixing of penal stations; the determination of responsibility for loss of property by officials, with consequent deductions of salary. Such cases as these, and many others which are within the governor-general's competence, and which are frequently decided on merely clerical advice, are quasi-judicial in character and could

presumably be settled with greater wisdom if action were taken under the advice of a body or court composed of men highly trained in both administration and law.

The above paragraphs do not pretend to furnish a complete analysis of the office of governor-general as it at present exists under American authority. Nothing is said, for instance, of the interesting development in recent years of the office of speaker of the assembly and the disposition of the speakership to encroach upon the executive functions of the governor-general. The office is obviously still undergoing development and may at any time be radically altered by congressional legislation. A main point of this paper has been to indicate if possible the historic continuity of the office under Spain and under the United States.

THE NORTHWESTERN STATES, BRITISH COLUMBIA, AND ALASKA, IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PACIFIC OCEAN

THE ATTITUDE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT TOWARD ALASKA

FRANK A. GOLDER

IN recent years much has been said of the blindness of the Russian government in selling, and the far-sightedness of the American government in purchasing, Alaska. When we are told that at the time of the transfer gold and copper had been discovered in the territory, that coal mines were in operation, that timber, fish, ice, and fur were being exported and sold at a profit, we naturally ask: Why was Alaska sold? In raising the question we are viewing the transaction from the point of view of dollars and cents. To the Russian government, however, Alaska was from the beginning more of a political than an economic problem.

Unlike other European powers Russia came into possession of territory in America by accident and not by design. Bering was sent to determine the relation between the old and the new worlds. Peter the Great had in mind scientific discovery and not the acquisition of new lands. When it was reported that Bering had located the northwest coast of America, the government took no steps to hold it. Who cared for a distant land inhabited by savages? Until the time of Cook the exact geographic situation of the islands and their relation to the mainland were matters of speculation. The statesmen in St. Petersburg had their faces turned towards the Near East and not the Far East. Had it not been for fur-traders, who, regardless of the neglect of the government, exploited one island after another, the term Russian-America never would have appeared on the maps.

Catherine had not been on the throne very long before the newly discovered islands were called to her attention in various ways. The profitable trade attracted many adventurers, and the wealthier traders came to the capital to ask for special privileges, and to

bring charges against their competitors. To gain their point they painted in bright colors the new possessions, the limitless territory for expansion, — the great future empire. In addition to these Russian promoters there were others of foreign countries who offered to lead expeditions of discovery and to extend Russia's commerce and empire in the Indies and America. It should be remembered that this was the last part of the eighteenth century, when the atmosphere of Europe was full of such projects, the voyages of Cook and La Pérouse being evidence enough on that point. Here was a serious and thoughtful problem for Catherine to decide. Was it for the best interests of her empire to acquire over-seas possessions, far from the seat of government? Expansion in itself was not a new thing for Russia; since the sixteenth century she had been adding to her domains, but had done so by annexing contiguous territory. The question now was different; it had to do with lands across the sea. Catherine understood that in order to hold dominions out in the ocean and far from the metropolis a nation must have an over-flowing population, a strong navy, and a merchant marine. Russia had none of these. In order then to understand Russia's problem in Alaska, one should constantly keep in mind these factors — the need of population and of a navy.

After thinking the subject over the Empress decided on a line of action. In a letter to her minister, Panin, written in 1769, in answer to various projects of foreign adventurers, she said: "It is for traders to traffic where they please. I will furnish neither men, nor ships, nor money, and I renounce forever all lands and possessions in the East Indies and in America." That was a clear statement of policy and could not be misunderstood. A few years later, in 1781, England, in return for military assistance to be used against the American Colonies, intimated that it would be willing to cede to Russia territory in America. In reply the Russian minister said that to accept land in such a distant part of the world would ruin Russia because she had no fleet. In 1787, two Siberian merchant adventurers laid before the Empress a petition in which they undertook, in exchange for special commercial privileges in Alaska, to colonize that land and to extend the limits of the Russian Empire in America. Catherine drew up a

paper in reply covering the questions of colonization and expansion in the North Pacific. In the first place she declared that the proposition was an impracticable one because the population for the proposed colonies would have to be drawn from Siberia, and that country had none to spare; one hundred people in Siberia were equal to a thousand in Europe. Then she went on to say that colonization and expansion in place of being a blessing were a burden. England's experience with the American colonies should be a warning to other nations to abstain from such undertakings. Russia would not benefit from expansion in the Pacific; to claim a territory and trade in a colony was one thing, to hold and govern it was another. Quite in line with the economic theories of the times, she thought that the best help a government could give to the commerce of a nation was to let it alone. It was for traders to barter and for kings to govern.

This *laissez-faire* policy in regard to the North Pacific was possible so long as other nations kept out of the territory. But towards the end of the eighteenth century trading ships from every part of the globe visited the Northwest, and Paul I had to decide whether Russia was to hold the lands acquired by the hunters or to withdraw from the American continent. He was quite discouraged with the complaints which reached him from America. For a time he was seriously considering the advisability of prohibiting all Russians from going there, which meant, of course, the abandonment of the territory. It might have been well for Russia had he done so. There were, however, those who dissuaded him from this step.

Since Alaska was to be retained the question was, how should it be governed? Various schemes were suggested: it was proposed to hand it over to a private company, similar to the Hudson's Bay Company, or to hold it as a crown colony. One statesman favored a plan having elements of both; according to this Alaska was for a short period to be given to a private company. While the company was in control there should be stationed in the territory a government officer of some importance, having to assist him a competent staff of engineers, agricultural experts, and other scientists. These men should make a thorough survey of the resources of the land in order that the government should be in a

position to formulate an intelligent policy for the development of the territory when taken over from the company. In the meantime officers should be stationed in the various villages to protect the natives from the lawlessness of the hunters. This was a sensible and, from all appearances, a workable plan. But it had against it the influence of a strong trading company, organized in 1797, which promised to build up Alaska and to uplift the natives. In the end this company was reorganized, in 1799, as the Russian American Company, and was granted monopolistic privileges for twenty years. It had great encouragement from the government; every request was granted, gigantic projects were set on foot, a new empire was to be opened. Friends and foes watched and withheld judgment. But soon most discouraging reports of death, starvation, failure and mismanagement came to the capital. Twice in the course of the twenty-year period a special officer was sent by the Emperor to make investigations. This officer drew a gloomy picture of the situation: as a place to live in Alaska was most undesirable on account of the climate and the distance from civilization; the population was decreasing, and without people there could be no colonies. In western Alaska the Russians were exterminating the Aleuts while in Eastern Alaska the Tlingits were massacring the Russians, and if these conditions continued it was only a question of time before the country would become a desert. He raised the query whether Alaska was worth the price. Russia, in return for a number of pelts, was sacrificing each year a number of healthy young Siberians who were greatly needed at home to develop the country, but who, in Alaska, became physical and moral wrecks. Out of one party of 175 people, sent to Alaska in 1794, there were left four in 1820. The American colonies instead of being a help to the Empire were a drain and stood in the way of the growth of Siberia.

In addition to the evils just mentioned there were international complications arising from the retention of that territory. Between 1800 and 1820 the possessions in America became the subject of diplomatic negotiations with England, the United States, Spain, Japan, and China, and led to difficulties in the Sandwich Islands, and to some extent in the Philippines.

When the first charter of the company expired the question

came up as usual, what should be done with the American territory? The same alternatives were discussed. To the suggestion that the government take it over, Alexander I is reported to have said: "No, no. It costs me now 300,000 rubles to look after Kamchatka. If I should attempt to take America under my care it would require a million." The company was in possession, and by making additional sweet-sounding promises it secured a renewal of the lease.

From 1820 to 1860 Alaska became more and more a burden on the Empire. The fur-bearing animals were being killed off, the natives were dying out, and it was difficult to persuade Russians to engage for service in Alaska when Siberia and the Amur offered so many better opportunities. The men who did come were in large part worthless. New international problems were coming up. The Crimean War demonstrated that Russia was not in a position to defend the colonies from an enemy unless she possessed a navy. If some agreement had not been reached as to the neutralization of Alaska, England would have captured it without any difficulty in 1854. There was also the financial question. The government stood back of the company and had to protect its credit by advancing loans to pay its bills. These were some of the considerations the Russian statesmen had to take into account when a request was made for a fourth charter. Before this was granted a committee was ordered to Alaska to make a report, which report did not promise much for the future of the territory. The government realized that the only sensible thing to do with its American possession was to get rid of it. Even before 1860 it was proposed to sell it to the United States, but the war interfered. As soon as peace was declared the proposition was taken up again and successfully carried through. It was either getting a little money out of it or sinking more in it. But it was not so much a matter of money, for Russia was ready to take much less than she actually received, as international considerations, which led to the sale of the territory. It was feared that sooner or later Alaska would become the source of misunderstanding between Russia and the United States, friends of long standing.

In a letter to the minister of finance written by Stoeckl, the

Russian minister in Washington, a number of reasons are given why the sale was necessary.

1. With the exception of England every European nation, that at one time or other had acquired colonies in America, has lost them. England still retains Canada but it is only a matter of years before that territory will become independent. If all these nations could not hold their colonies, it is not likely that Russia will be able to keep Alaska indefinitely.

2. In case of war Russia is in no position to defend her American territory. To be obliged to protect the large stretch of American coast would be a source of weakness.

3. The ports of Alaska are closed to American shipping. If the government of the United States should retaliate by closing the Pacific coast markets to Russian vessels the Alaskan trade would be badly affected. Should Alaska be thrown open to the Yankees they would soon exhaust it. If they close their ports to us we are lost; if we open ours to them we are equally lost.

4. The American people believe that it is their "manifest destiny" to expand on the Pacific coast. From Mexico they have taken Texas and California. They are increasing very rapidly in the Northwest and on the Pacific, and very soon they will be clamoring for Alaska. It will take a large fleet to keep them out. Should gold be discovered, then neither army nor fleet could keep them away. It might even bring about war with the United States. By handing the territory to the United States we bind that nation in friendship to us. Russia, too, has her manifest destiny, but it is on the other side of the Pacific, along the Amur. Our men and resources are needed there and should not be wasted in America.

5. From the very beginning Alaska has brought nothing but embarrassment, diplomatic complications, financial sacrifices and loss in men. If Russia should keep it there would be more trouble and additional sacrifices. Is Alaska worth the price? Looking at the matter from the point of view of the good of Russia we must answer in the negative.

In this sketch an attempt has been made to show that from the time of Catherine to the sale of Alaska that territory was a burden on the shoulders of Russia. From a little baby elephant

it had grown into a huge beast, becoming each year more difficult to manage. The government did not always publicly acknowledge this fact but it was true nevertheless. Russia came into possession of Alaska accidentally; it never really needed or desired that territory. The expansion of the American people on the Pacific, with their ideas of "manifest destiny," with their energy and resourcefulness, made it clear to Russian statesmen that Alaska would soon become a bone of contention between the two nations. Not to have misunderstandings with the United States, whose friendship was much to be desired, coupled with economic reasons, caused Russia to sell Alaska.

THE FUR TRADE IN NORTHWESTERN DEVELOPMENT

F. W. Howay

The Northwest maritime fur trade owed its origin to an accident; but the Northwestern land fur trade originated in design. The former, growing out of Captain Cook's third voyage, was the legitimate successor of the search for the Strait of Anian in the development of our knowledge of the coast. The latter did not come into being until twenty years after the inception of its maritime predecessor, the best days of which had by that time disappeared. The maritime fur trade consisted of a mere series of individual efforts and contained all the elements of weakness incident to such undertakings; the land fur trade, on the other hand, so far at least as the territory west of the Rockies was concerned, was carried on in a systematic way by large corporations or organizations.

Except for a few spasmodic efforts — the mere flickerings of the dying candle — the maritime fur trade lasted but twenty-five or thirty years. Originally devoted entirely to the collecting of sea-otter skins, its scope was soon enlarged to include first, the fur-seal and, later, beaver, marten, and the furs of almost every kind of animal to be found on the coast. Ginseng was not overlooked; sandalwood from the Pacific islands was added to the trade; and towards the end even the whale fishery was combined with it. Though this ephemeral and strangely diversified trade was, in reality, merely a looting of the coast, it was not entirely devoid of collateral results. It established our earliest direct commercial relations with Hawaii and the Far East; it gave to us our first Oriental laborers, — only temporarily it is true, but yet important as being the first meeting of those races which centuries before had separated on the table-lands of Asia; it disclosed vaguely and indistinctly the outlines of our irregular coast from the mouth of

the Columbia to Cook's Inlet; and it gave to Eastern lands a momentary vision of the wondrous wealth of this Western world.

But, from its very nature and the secrecy and spirit of rivalry which permeated it, no continuous or systematic development could be expected. The English who were engaged in it found themselves hampered by the monopolies of the South Sea and East India companies, which placed them at a disadvantage in the struggle. And even the Boston merchants, into whose hands the trade gradually fell, did not, individually, prosecute it for any length of time. Three or four years usually sufficed. The wasteful competition, the uncertainty of the markets, the strange and expensive restrictions imposed by the Chinese, and the inability from lack of capital to hold their stocks of furs for more favorable conditions, were the strongest factors in effecting this result.

None of these maritime traders attempted to make a settlement on our coast; not one of them erected a permanent habitation. The King George's Sound Company, which, under licences from the South Sea Company and the East India Company, operated four vessels in 1786–88, contemplated the erection of trading posts or factories, as they were called, which would, besides being epoch-making, have given an element of stability and permanence to its undertaking. Instructions to this effect were given to Captains Portlock and Dixon, who commanded the first expedition. In the heated discussion between Meares and Dixon, which followed the publication of the former's mendacious volume, he took occasion to jeer at Dixon for his failure to obey his orders. Meares himself alleges, and in this case with apparent truthfulness, that he intended in 1789, the year of the seizure of his vessels, to found a trading post at Nootka to be known as Fort Pitt. Captain William Brown, who in 1792 and 1793 commanded an expedition of three ships engaged in this trade, had instructions, also, to form two establishments on the coast and another on the Queen Charlotte Islands. In this instance the orders were likewise unaccountably disobeyed. Whatever the explanation may be, the fact remains that, though contemplated on these three occasions, at least, nothing tangible was actually accomplished. Small houses were indeed erected in a number of cases, as for instance by Meares at Nootka when building the *North West America* and

by Gray at Clayoquot when building the *Adventure*, but these were merely temporary quarters ancillary to those particular undertakings.

As the maritime traders pass off the page of history we admit our indebtedness to them for increased knowledge of our coast geography and for a fleeting glance at the rich possibilities enwrapped in our future, but at the same time we realize that they utterly failed to take advantage of their opportunities or to leave one mark of civilization within our borders.

The Astoria venture stands in an unique position. It marks the transition stage. As the scheme was launched it was a combination of land fur trade and maritime fur trade. The details of its plan are trite. Yet strangely enough so much stress has been laid upon the formation of the central depot at the mouth of the Columbia with auxiliary trading posts on the main stream and branches of that river and the Missouri, and upon the annual ship, which, bringing out the trading goods, should sail to China with the collected furs, that the fact that it included also the prosecution of the maritime trade has been lost to view. Irving, however, tells us that as part of this gigantic, but ill-starred, scheme, "Coasting craft would be built and fitted out also, at the mouth of the Columbia, to trade at favorable seasons all along the Northwest Coast and return with the proceeds of their voyages to this place of deposit." The little schooner *Dolly* which was brought out in frame was to carry on this work, and it is well known that the *Tonquin* was engaged in this coast trade when she was pillaged and destroyed with all her crew by the Indians at Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island.

Astoria became by purchase in 1813 the property of the North West Company of Montreal, a very energetic organization, that from 1805 had been gradually extending its trade along the Fraser and the Columbia. That company did not view with a sympathetic eye the maritime trade, which was quite foreign to its genius. It was managed and drew its supplies of men very largely from the Province of Quebec, whence expert boat and canoe men and robust and hardy *voyageurs* could be obtained, but which was not capable of supplying trained and skilled seamen. An effort was indeed made, as Alexander Ross informs us, to fol-

low Astor's idea of wresting the coast trade from the Boston vessels, but it ended in lamentable failure and the Nor' Westers abandoned that trade to their rivals. They nevertheless continued the remainder of the Astoria scheme to which they had, so to speak, become entitled by their purchase. For three years, 1814, 1815, and 1816, ships sent from England deposited at the Columbia mouth, Astoria by them being renamed Fort George, the annual supply of trading goods, and, having taken on board the furs collected during the preceding season, sailed therewith for Canton. In actual operation this portion of the "golden round" was found to be expensive and unproductive in consequence of the restriction of British subjects from trading in China except under license from the East India Company, inasmuch as that company refused to permit the North West Company's vessels to take return cargoes of tea. To escape this loss, arrangements were made with Boston merchants (who, of course, were not subject to that monopoly) whereby the whole transport to and from the mouth of the Columbia was carried on by American vessels. Thus the steady interchange of products between newest West and oldest East, begun by the maritime traders, was continued under the North West Company régime.

In carrying on their trade the Nor' Westers — "the Lords of the Lakes and Forests," as Washington Irving has called them, following the line of least resistance, always clung closely to the natural waterways or to the Indian trails. All of us have in memory's storehouse, as a result of our early reading, vivid pictures of the North West brigade of deeply laden canoes manned by sturdy *voyageurs*, bedizened with many-colored ribbons sweeping along the narrow willow-embroidered streams of the interior, and making the neighboring hills reëcho with "En roulant ma boule" or other French-Canadian *chansons*. It was no part of that company's policy to build roads or trails, to improve communications, or, generally speaking, to employ in short transportation any beast of burden but man. Even along the main line of travel but little effort was made to ameliorate conditions. Like the stolid Indian, they seemed to think it beneath them to remove any natural obstruction which they might encounter.

At their trading posts, pemmican, that indescribable compound

of buffalo meat, grease, and berries, was the staple food; but the policy of the company was to make its servants live, as Napoleon thought the army should, off the country occupied. Soon after the Nor' Westers gained a foothold west of the Rockies we find in the vicinity of their posts the first rude attempts at horticulture. Harmon, who was in charge at Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, in northern British Columbia, writes under date May 21, 1811: "As the frost is now out of the ground we have planted our potatoes, and sowed barley, turnips, etc., which are the first that we ever sowed on this western side of the mountains."

Soon every post where conditions permitted had its garden providing a portion of the food of the establishment. The forests, the lakes, and the rivers were all laid under tribute, but only to furnish provisions for the same purpose. No thought of developing any of the natural resources entered into the Nor' Westers' plans. In this connection it must not be overlooked that from 1811 to 1813 the company was engaged in the struggle with Astor, and from the latter date until 1821 went on the keen and bitter strife with the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus the whole energy of the company was fully engrossed, and no opportunity was offered to consider expansion along other lines.

To the Hudson's Bay Company, the great rival of the Nor' Westers, the region west of the Rockies was for a century and a half a veritable *terra incognita*. With the single exception of the sortie made by Joseph Howse in 1810, no Hudson's Bay trader crossed that great range until after the union in 1821. George Simpson, the dominating figure in the fur-trade for forty years, arrived in *les pays d'en haut* in 1821 to take charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's business in Athabasca. Knowing that he had been trained in a counting-house and had no practical knowledge of the fur-trade, the wintering partners of the North West Company regarded him with a scarcely veiled contempt. Wentzel gave expression to this feeling when he described him as a stranger and a gentlemanly man, and ventured the opinion "that he will not create much alarm, nor do I presume him formidable as an Indian trader." Simpson became the official head, on this continent, of the united companies, which from motives of policy retained the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. The new

concern, as Edward Ellice stated in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1857, was "in fact more a Canadian than an English Company in its origin"; that is to say, as Dr. Bryce expresses it, it was the fusion of the stability of the English company and the energy of the Canadian combination. The new governor soon made his power felt. King Log became King Stork. Within three years Wentzel acknowledged his prophecy to be at fault: "the North West is now beginning to be ruled," says he, "with a rod of iron."

The union having brought industrial peace, Simpson set himself to the systematic up-building of the fur-trade and the development of subsidiary operations. Six trading posts on the Columbia and seven on the Fraser then existed, representing the results achieved by the North West Company in fifteen years. Arriving on the Pacific coast in 1824, Simpson found the coast trade practically monopolized by itinerant trading vessels. He determined upon an energetic policy — the driving of these maritime traders from the field and the complete control of the trade of the whole coast from San Francisco to the frozen North. The first hint of this policy was given in the winter of 1824, when the examination of the lower Fraser was undertaken by McMillan, not only to select a site for a coast trading post, but also to ascertain the latent possibilities of the region in agriculture and in the fishery. Three years later — for the company moved slowly, all its undertakings requiring the formal approval of the council of chief factors at Norway House — Fort Langley was built. Pending the erection of other trading posts to the northward, the nucleus of a fleet to compete for the coast trade was organized, the *Cadboro* and the *Vancouver*, soon to be followed by the *Llama*, the *Dryad*, and, last and best known, the historic steamer *Beaver*. Then came a period of strenuous effort both on land and sea. Having in 1830 established Fort Simpson on the coast, at the northern fringe of British Columbia, to intercept not only the maritime trade, but also that carried on by Russia on the *lisière* defined in the treaties of 1824 and 1825, it was determined to build a trading post beyond the limits of the coastal strip to cut off the trade of the interior. In 1833 Peter Skene Ogden examined the Stikine River for the site of such a post. No objection was

made by the Russian American Company, but when, in the following May, Ogden arrived with men and materials to carry the project into execution, the Russians, in breach of the treaty, prevented him by force from navigating the river across the ten-marine-league strip. In the same year Fort McLoughlin was built on Milbank Sound, further to the southward, to compete with the trading vessels. The *Cadboro*, the *Vancouver*, and the *Dryad* were kept constantly along the northern coast to increase the opposition. To prevent the trade of the hinterland from reaching either the American trading vessels or the Russian posts, the company made its way into northwestern British Columbia, that vast alpine region where, amid lakes and mountains, nature reigns in loneliness and cloud. In 1834, the very year of Ogden's unsuccessful efforts, McLeod examined and explored the headwaters of the Stikine, and shortly afterwards Robert Campbell established a post of the company on Dease Lake.

Out of the unlawful prevention of Ogden's venture grew a claim for damages against the Russian company, which was ultimately settled in 1839 by the grant of a lease of the strip of Alaskan territory from 54° 40′ to Mount Fairweather, together with all the Russian establishments within those limits. But in the meantime the company's efforts had been so successful that the trading vessels had abandoned the struggle. Thus by 1839 the company was in practically undisputed control of the fur trade from the Rockies to the coast and from San Francisco to the 60th parallel of latitude.

But Governor Simpson's policy extended beyond the mere absorption of that trade. He was not content to make the land support the trading ports as his predecessors had done. The resources of the country having been searched out and examined, he proceeded to exploit them, to build up new industries, and establish new lines of trade. In this connection it must be remembered that the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay Company only existed east of the Rockies. There it held the exclusive trade and the territorial lordship of the vaguely defined Rupert's Land and the still vaguer grant of the trade of all regions to which access from Rupert's Land might be found by water. West of that great range in the Oregon Territory, as the region was after-

wards known, the company had no rights whatever until after the union of 1821. There, it was (except after 1849 as regards Vancouver Island) a mere trading corporation having no proprietorship, no lordship of the soil, nothing but a mere revocable license of exclusive trade with the Indians. This monopoly was only valid against British subjects. It did not confer nor attempt to confer any rights whatever as regards other nationalities. Consequently, in the branching out into the various lines of development of natural resources the company was only exercising a right open to every other person or corporation that might desire to exercise it.

The small gardens of the Nor' Westers now expanded into a semblance of farming. The first rude attempts at agriculture in New Caledonia, — the interior of British Columbia, — were made in 1830. In McLean's *Twenty-five Years in Hudson's Bay Territory*, he says: "To Mr. Dease, however, the praise is due of having introduced this new order of things; he it was who first introduced cattle from Fort Vancouver; it was he who first introduced farming and recommended it to others." In a letter preserved in the Archives of British Columbia,[1] Dr. McLoughlin gives the motives which induced him to take this course, not only in British Columbia, but also throughout the whole of his kingdom. "If it had not been for the great expense of importing flour from Europe, the serious injury it received on the voyage, and the absolute necessity of being independent of the Indians for provisions, I would never have encouraged farming in this country, but it was impossible to carry on the trade without it." Wheat was raised in the Columbia River region and in central and northern British Columbia even as far as Fort Alexandria in Latitude 52° 33′, where forty bushels to the acre and of the finest quality were obtained. In that inaccessible interior this was converted into flour for the use of the post, by means of a small mill operated by horses. As the farming operations increased, a good market for the surplus product was found in the men-of-war on the coast and in the Hawaiian Islands. Herds of cattle and sheep were reared for the support of the posts, but this industry soon exceeded the

[1] This letter has since been published. It will be found in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1915.

requirements of the company and the surplus found its way to the same markets. To handle this business to advantage the company was compelled to extend its operations beyond the confines of this continent and establish a trading post on the Hawaiian Islands.

The terms of the lease arranged with the Russian American Company in 1839 required the Hudson's Bay Company to supply annually eight tons of flour, six and a half tons of peas, six and a half tons of grits and hulled barley, fifteen tons of salt beef, eight tons of butter, and one and a half tons of ham. The prices agreed upon were such that the company could not afford to import these goods, but must obtain them upon this coast. At the outset the Columbia River and Puget Sound districts furnished these supplies, but political reasons soon led the company to develop farming on a large scale in British Columbia, at Fort Langley and Fort Victoria. In the end this branch of industry became so extensive and required so much capital that a subsidiary corporation, known as the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, was formed to carry it on.

The determination of Governor Simpson to employ horses to transport the trading goods and furs from Fort Okanogan on the Columbia to Fort Alexandria on the upper waters of the Fraser made it necessary for the company, following its avowed policy of being independent of the Indian support, to enter largely into stock-raising. Horses were also employed in the transport between Fort Kamloops and Forts Yale and Hope. At Fort Alexandria a herd of about two hundred horses was maintained, while in the vicinity of Kamloops, for many years, the company's band numbered between five and six hundred. This form of land conveyance was known as the horse brigade. In connection therewith the company built trails through the interior of British Columbia, — the brigade trails, as they were called — which later served as means of communication for the early settlers.

The wealth of the waters was not overlooked. No longer was the trader satisfied to regard it merely as a source of the food supply of the post; the possibility of curing fish in sufficient quantities to establish it as a part of an export trade was constantly in mind. At Nanaimo great quantities of herring were caught and

salted for the use of the company's posts, but, so far as my research has extended, no record exists of any export. Archibald McDonald tells us that when he arrived to take charge of Fort Langley in September, 1828, less than a year after its inception, he found in the provision shed, besides other supplies, three thousand dried salmon and sixteen tierces of salted salmon. The production increased annually. Governor Simpson, writing in November, 1841, says that Langley, after supplying itself and the other posts, had some four hundred barrels of salted salmon for export. In 1840, when James Douglas was examining the northern waters for a fort site, he noted the abundance of excellent salmon, and in his report mentions the possibility of developing a valuable auxiliary business therefrom. Later in the same document, in dealing with the prospects of Fort Stikine, one of the northern posts, he says: "If barrels could be provided, one hundred tierces of salmon might be cured annually at this place, for exportation, in addition to the quantity required for its own consumption." From San Juan Island alone, the company for many years exported from two thousand to three thousand barrels of salted salmon.

Meares was the first to recognize the great possibilities of our lumber resources. In 1788, if he is to be believed, he shipped some spars to China, the first export of timber from the northwest coast. From that time the trade lay dormant until after the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company. Within the area now known as British Columbia small mills were established, notably at Victoria and Nanaimo, but these were entirely for the company's own purposes. From the Columbia River sawn lumber was manufactured and shipped to the Hawaiian Islands.

In 1835 coal was discovered by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company at Suquash, on the northern end of Vancouver Island. This important event synchronized with the arrival of the celebrated steamer *Beaver*, the first steam vessel on the Pacific. The earliest coal mining, if it can be dignified by that name, was done for the company by the Indians in that vicinity. On one occasion, with hatchets and other primitive and unsuitable implements, the natives procured about ninety tons in a few days. The company was also aware of the coal beds of Puget Sound; and, from 1845, when that indefatigable traveller Father DeSmet

passed through the Kootenay region, the existence of the now famous Crow's Nest Pass coal fields was known. It was not, however, until the company obtained its grant of Vancouver Island that any real attempt was made to mine coal in this country, and this was done, not as a subsidiary undertaking to that of fur trading, but as a part of a colonization scheme.

In conclusion, let us add a word in reference to that necessity of modern life, the postal service. The annual brigades of the fur companies furnished to the resident traders the only means of communication with the outside world. We have here the germ of our express and post-office. How eagerly these opportunities were seized, how anxiously they were looked for, how proficient these traders became in the art of letter-writing the few remains of their correspondence which have come down to us bear eloquent witness. For some time these facilities were extended to strangers, free of charge, but in June, 1845, the council at Norway House decreed that postage on letters should be charged west of the Rockies. Letters to and from the Columbia River region not exceeding half an ounce were to be transmitted for one dollar, with a further charge of twenty-five cents for every succeeding half ounce.

And here let us leave the subject, but in so doing it must be remarked that in the economic development of this western land the fur trader had his part; a small one, it is true, and yet an important one, as we have endeavored to show, in that he not only ascertained its possibilities in many ways and the existence of theretofore unknown natural wealth, but also, especially in the case of the Hudson's Bay Company, made a beginning in their exploitation, and thus pointed out to the home-builder, who in the natural evolution must follow him, the paths which have led us to the proud position of to-day.

THE WESTERN OCEAN AS A DETERMINANT IN OREGON HISTORY

JOSEPH SCHAFER

THE doctrine that maritime influence is central among historical forces receives vindication from the annals of the Pacific Northwest. That section, which in one view of its history simply illustrates well understood principles and processes of westward expansion, represents in other aspects new if not unique features traceable to the presence and potency of the Pacific Ocean.

The states of the Pacific Northwest are American made, like those of other great sections; the region was explored, exploited, and settled from the more easterly portions of the country, as were the Old Northwest, the Old Southwest, and the trans-Mississippi states. Theoretically, there is no essential difference between the American occupation of Ohio or of Iowa, and the American occupation of Oregon.

And yet, a little reflection will suggest that there is a difference, fundamental in character. The older West presents no story of exploration even remotely like that of Lewis and Clark, with the single exception of the story of La Salle. Aside from the intrepid Frenchman again, whose plans all went awry, no one even projected a system of exploitation like that which is illustrated by the developed Columbia River fur trade. The history of emigration by the primitive process of crossing land spaces with the use of wagon and team, while already old in 1843, attains a development in the migration to Oregon which gives that process a new meaning in the social life of the nation.

Turning now to the history of exploration, we are met at the outset by the well attested statement that the Lewis and Clark expedition was Jefferson's idea. But when we are variously

assured that Jefferson's motives in sending the expedition forth were (1) to learn the character of the Louisiana Purchase, (2) to make treaties with the Missouri River tribes of Indians, (3) to enrich science, (4) to extend the potential sweep of American institutions and American ideals of liberty, (5) to checkmate the plans of political opponents like Britain and France, (6) to find a water communication to the Pacific for purposes of trade — we are naturally curious to know where the stress is to be placed in evaluating these several promptings to action.

In his secret message to Congress, January 18, 1803, in which the expedition was first broached, Jefferson said: "The interests of commerce place the principal object [of the expedition] within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent cannot but be an additional gratification." He had spoken of a possible commerce which should divert through the United States the existing trade of the Missouri tribes with the English in Canada, and possibly extend by way of the Missouri and another river with but a single portage "to the Western Ocean," which was the goal of the expedition as conceived by him at that early date. In several letters of about the same time, Jefferson writes with evident joy of the proposed expedition, always naming the western ocean as the objective. And in the formal instructions to Lewis, issued June 20, 1803, Jefferson says in language which should not be open to misinterpretation: "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River, and such principal stream of it, as by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce." The study of the natives along the line to be pursued was important on account of the commerce which might be carried on with them. Moreover, Lewis was to inform himself, on reaching the Pacific, whether the furs of those far western regions might not be transported as advantageously by the western river connection and the Missouri, through the United States, as by ship around South America from Nootka Sound or elsewhere on the coast.

Although it is easy to prove the presence, also, of the other mo-

tives named above, there seems to be no doubt from this evidence that the discovery of a water communication with the Pacific, for purposes of commerce, was the dominant motive which led to the exploration. If confirmatory evidence is needed, we have it in Lewis's letter to Jefferson, of September 23, 1806, the letter in which he announces the safe return of his party and gives the first brief digest of the results of their exploration. Lewis knew Jefferson's mind better than anyone else, and this report being conceived by him as a summary of the things Jefferson would be most eager to learn, we are pretty safe in assuming that the things Lewis here places first were the things Jefferson regarded as fundamental. The letter begins:

"Sir: It is with pleasure that I announce to you the safe arrival of myself and party at this place on the [blank space in MS.] inst. with our papers and baggage. no accedent has deprived us of a single member of our party since I last wrote you from the Mandans in April 1804. In obedience to your orders we have penetrated the Continent of North America to the Pacific Ocean and suficiently explored the interior of the country to affirm that we have discovered the most practicable communication which dose exist across the continent by means of the navigable branches of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers";

Then follows a detailed description of the route, with the transportation capabilities and difficulties of the various sections. This is followed again by the significant generalization:

"We vew this passage across the continent as affording immence advantages to the fir trade but fear that advantages wich it offers as a communication for the productions of the East Indias to the United States and thence to Europe will never be found equal on an extensive scale to that by the way of the Cape of good hope. still we believe that many articles not bulky brittle nor of a perishable nature may be conveyed to the U'. States by this rout with more facility and less expence than by that at present practiced. That portion of the Continent watered by the Missouri and all it's branches from the Cheyenne upwards is richer in beaver

and Otter than any country on earth . . . ; the furs of all this immence tract of country . . . may be conveyed to the mouth of the Columbia by the 1st of August in each year and from thence be shiped to and arrive at Canton earlier than the furs which are annually shiped from Montreal arrive in England."

Lewis thinks the British Northwest traders might be induced to ship most of their furs by the same route. When a proper organization of the business shall have been effected, including trading posts along the line of communication at strategic points, a yearly exchange of North American furs and Chinese goods could be executed, the latter arriving in St. Louis by the last of September of each year. He concludes:

"If the government will only aid even on a limited scale the enterprize of her Citizens I am convinced that we shall soon derive the benefits of a most lucrative trade from this source. and in the course of 10 or 12 Years a tour across the Continent by this rout will be undertaken with as little concern as a voyage across the Atlantic is at present."

About two and a quarter pages of the letter embracing three and three-fourths pages, are devoted to the topics presented above. The balance of the letter contains a reference to the menacing trade activity of the Northwest Company on the Upper Missouri, with suggestions for thwarting their plans, a succinct chronology of the expedition, a partial invoice of the natural history specimens brought back, among which was the Chief of the Mandans, a reference to the valuable services rendered by Captain Clark, and an assurance that he (Lewis) would hasten to Washington. In short, viewed as a document, the theme of this letter is: "The new route across the continent for purposes of trade and what it will probably mean to the people of the United States."

Lewis's letter helps us to interpret the idea of "commerce" as used in Jefferson's instructions to mean not merely such trade as might be developed with the peoples dwelling along the line of the hoped for route to the Pacific, and along its coasts and fringing islands, but also such trade as might be induced to cross

the ocean from the Orient to North America. In a word, Jefferson's scheme had in it, along with very practical suggestions for getting profit from an extension of our continental trade, something of the idealist's aspiration to contribute to the solution of the age-old problem of uniting the East with the West. It seems fair on the whole to say that it was the Pacific Ocean — the goal of these endeavors, charged by reason of its geographical relations with every potential advantage to his country and the world — that actually lay at the bottom of Jefferson's interest in securing the exploration.

From this point of view, too, we have a ready explanation of Jefferson's earlier expressions of interest in Far West exploration. When in 1783 he suggested to George Rogers Clark the leadership of an exploring enterprise, it was because the British were said to be raising a sum of money to explore from the Mississippi to California. A few years later he urged Ledyard to proceed from Nootka Sound on the Pacific eastward, to the Missouri, and thence to the United States, having in mind, doubtless, a water communication more or less complete between the coast and the Missouri, as maps of that time represented northern geography. When Michaux was commissioned by the American Philosophical Society to explore westward, Jefferson wrote his instructions, and in these he charged the French scientist as "the first of all objects, that you seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean." And he added this significant stipulation: "If you reach the Pacific Ocean and return, the Society assign to you all the benefits of the subscription before mentioned. If you reach the waters only that run into that ocean, the Society reserve to themselves the apportionment of the reward according to the conditions expressed in the subscription. If you do not reach even these waters they refuse all reward, and reclaim the money you may have received here under the subscription."

The fur trade, as the first general exploitation of new territory, began in America with the founding of the first settlements and in some cases it anticipated these settlements. That trade, it has been well said, "pioneered the way for civilization" across the American continent. But the character of the fur trade

in the region of the Pacific Northwest differed widely from that of more easterly sections, especially in the items of organization, scope, and the degree to which it was blended with general commerce. The Astor Company and its successors the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company represent, first, the triumph of the principle of monopoly as applied to the continental fur trade; second, in an ascending series, they mark the widest geographical reach of this type of trade as a feature of the process of winning the continent; third, whereas the earlier fur trade — so far as the territory of the United States was concerned — restricted itself to a simple interchange with the natives of goods they craved for skins they could catch by hunting and trapping, the developed trade of the Pacific Northwest ranged from the most primitive barter with the Indians to elaborate and highly financed operations of world commerce.

The remoter prophet of this new fur trade on the side of its geographical extension was Arthur Dobbs, its more immediate originative agent Sir Alexander Mackenzie; while Mr. Astor, the McGillivrays, Sir George Simpson, McLoughlin, and others, contributed to its development.

Arthur Dobbs, in 1744, dreamed of the day when British subjects should control the entire trade from Lower Canada, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers westward to the Pacific, as a preliminary to the prosecution of voyages for the opening of the Northwest Passage and the subsequent survey, on a grand scale, of South Sea waters, the discovery of continents and islands teeming with peoples waiting to be supplied with British goods. He did not believe in the principle of monopoly as applied to that trade, but the vision of its continental possibilities came to him with surpassing force and clearness.

Mackenzie, after his famous overland expedition to the Pacific in 1792–3, elaborated a complete plan for engrossing and reorganizing the Northern American fur trade. The two British companies, of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay, were to combine. The eastern emporium of their trade was to be at the mouth of Nelson River in Hudson's Bay, the western at the mouth of the Columbia. The two termini were to be united along the line of the Columbia, called by him "the line of communication from the

Pacific pointed out by nature," and probably the Saskatchewan, to Lake Winnipeg. Mackenzie's comment upon his plan is deserving of special interest as a remarkable forecast of what was to occur a few years later, as well as for the light it throws on Mackenzie's view of the relation of the inland trade to the oceans, east and west. He says:

"By opening this intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained, from latitude forty-five degrees north to the pole, except that portion of it which the Russians have in the Pacific. To this may be added the fishing in both seas and the markets of the four quarters of the globe."

Astor, following out the suggestion of Lewis and Clark as to the practicability of assembling Missouri and Columbia River furs at the mouth of the Columbia for shipment to Canton — a suggestion which, in part at least, was probably derived from Mackenzie — actualized the conception of a world-wide commerce erected upon the Oriental demand for furs. And the British successors of the Astor Company, more definitely the heirs of Mackenzie's policy, accomplished directly and indirectly the same result, although handicapped for a time by the old established monopoly of the East India Company.

In all of this marvellous transforming development of the fur trade, it is clear that the circumstance of the trader having reached the Pacific is the fundamental new fact determinative of all the rest. The South Sea of Dobbs's dream became in the nineteenth century the highway of commerce of all sorts based on furs, its measureless possibilities and their progressive realization stimulating to a growth which created a new complex commercial organization out of one originally simple. "The trade between the eastern and western hemispheres, direct across the Pacific," said George Canning in 1826, "is the trade of the world most susceptible of rapid augmentation and improvement." He was right, and the fact influenced not only his own but other cabinets

and formed a determining factor in the diplomacy of nations as well as in the projects of commercial concerns. But that is another story, into which we shall not be tempted at this time.

The history of the way Oregon Territory was occupied by Americans arriving by wagon train from the Missouri frontier is familiar, and has won for the Oregon immigrant of the early 40's the distinction of originating the most spectacular form of continental pioneering. The significance of what these men did, however, lies not merely in the distances traversed to reach their objective, nor in the dangers and hardships encountered on the march. Nor does it lie in the new type of half military social organization made necessary by the conditions of the emigrations, which left their mark upon the resulting society, nor in the selective process which gave to the Northwest the most virile, resourceful, and enterprising of the strictly pioneering American stock. To at least an equal extent it lies in the isolation, necessarily complete and probably enduring, which they were willing to risk for the sake of the anticipated advantages and the ideals impelling them westward. It is this paralyzing isolation that assimilates the early history of the Pacific Northwest (and less markedly that of California in the years before '49) to early colonial life. If possible, the Willamette Colony in the years 1837 to 1849 was even more completely isolated from the great world than was Virginia before 1624 or Plymouth before 1630. How long that condition might have endured but, for the California gold discovery we can only conjecture. Even as modified by that stupendous occurrence, the figures of comparative population of Northwestern States and other representative western groups reveal striking differences in the dynamics of the historical process as it went on here and elsewhere.

The three southern states of the Old Northwest — Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois — to take one example, were settled up largely before the era of railways and partly before the era of steamboats. Yet, in the space of fifty years, from 1790 to 1840, their population grew from 45,000 in the former year to 2,680,000 in the latter.

The tract of country west of the Mississippi which includes the states of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska and Kansas, began to be populated about 1840, when Iowa Territory, the earliest of the

four to emerge, was credited with 42,000. In 1850 Iowa and Minnesota together had 197,000. In 1860 the four states and territories had 372,000; in 1870 Iowa alone had 1,188,000, Minnesota 438,000, Kansas 346,000, and Nebraska 122,000. By 1880 the four states show a total of 3,793,000, which rises to 5,620,000 at the census of 1890.

Turning to the Pacific Northwest, the census bureau first notices the region in 1850 and assigns Oregon Territory 13,087 persons. In 1860 Oregon has 52,000 and Washington Territory 11,138 — a total of 63,000. In 1870 the total for the region was 86,000. In 1880 Oregon had 163,075, Washington 67,000, Idaho 29,000, and the whole of Montana Territory (only a fraction of which belongs to the Pacific Northwest) had 35,000, or a grand total for the region of approximately 280,000. Estimating Montana's contribution at three-sevenths of the entire population of that state, the census of 1890 would give the region a grand total of 778,000, or in round numbers three-fourths of a million persons, and the census of 1900 raises this to barely 1,127,000. In other words, population in the Old Northwest advanced in its first half century, even under the handicap of primitive transportation and industrial conditions, at a rate almost two and one-half times as rapid as that of the Pacific Northwest; while in the four states west of the Mississippi settled almost contemporaneously with ours the rate was five times as rapid.

Western American history proves that as a rule the ease and certainty with which new communities recover from the repressing tendencies of pioneer life and strike the gait of old or new progress is measured, largely, other things being equal, by the rate of increase of their populations, which of course depends in its turn primarily on the development of adequate market facilities. One can hardly escape the reflection that, but for circumstances which were accidental in character, like the California gold discovery and later the gold discoveries of the Inland Empire and British Columbia, the Oregon country (and with it California) would have lagged behind in its development for a century or more. Like portions of the so-called Old West (the region stretching from the fall line of east-flowing rivers to the crest of the Alleghenies) this naturally fruitful region might well have become

a second vast "retarded area," with a population rendered static on the pioneering plane of life by the indurating process of a training which for several generations remained uniform on both its formal and its informal sides.

Yet the pioneers of the Pacific Northwest, many of them men of keen and clear vision, risked this portentous social danger, with all lesser ones, because the presence of the Pacific Ocean seemed to them in their inexperience to be an offset to every prudential consideration based on the previous history of continental pioneering. The leaders of the early emigrations, in fact, took counsel of their hopes rather than their fears. They were influenced powerfully by the glowing anticipations respecting Oregon voiced by men in and out of Congress and by such seers among public servants as Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. On his visit to Oregon and California, in 1841, as commander of the Exploring Expedition, which had already spent three years in Pacific waters, Wilkes wrote in his journal a prediction that California would in time be free from Mexico and become united with Oregon in a new state which would control "the destinies of the Pacific." "This future state is admirably fitted to become a powerful maritime nation," he said, "with two of the finest ports in the world — that within the straits of Fuca and San Francisco. The two regions have, in fact, within themselves everything to make them increase and keep up an intercourse with the whole of Polynesia, as well as the countries of South America on the one side, and China, New Holland and New Zealand on the other. Among the latter, before many years, may be included Japan. Such various climates will furnish the materials for a beneficial interchange of products and an intercourse that must in time become immense, while this western coast, enjoying a climate in many ways superior to any other on the Pacific, possessed as it must be by the Anglo-Norman race, and having none to enter into rivalry with it but the indolent inhabitants of warm climates, is evidently destined to fill a large space in the world's future history."

With such a pronouncement, and similar ones, as models, it was natural for journalistic promoters of Oregon emigration to refer to Oregon as "the future home of the power that is to rule the Pacific," and for the pioneers themselves to entertain exalted

though vague expectations of a future social and political importance, a future economic and commercial greatness, which somehow would come to them as the gift of the mysterious western sea.

Thus the land was settled ahead of its time, the siren voice of the sea luring the immigrant far beyond his logical frontier. Plans of large-scale development were projected on the same principle, namely, that the Pacific Ocean would somehow guarantee their successful execution. Asa Whitney's railway project, which emerges as early as 1845, assumed that an oriental trade of limitless volume could be directed through the United States once a rail line should connect the Great Lakes with the Pacific, much as Jefferson appears to have hoped for such a result from the opening of water communication.

On the whole, idealism and optimism, a bold unconquerable faith, here demonstrate their social superiority over timid prudence and besetting doubt. Neptune has kept faith with his votaries. The selective process resulting in the settlement, partly overland and partly by sea, has given to the Northwest a social organization capable of utilizing and developing the commercial opportunities which the Pacific implies. With a low rate of population growth, there has coexisted a high rate of economic and social differentiation as compared with the more purely agricultural states of the West. The Northwestern States, in short, despite early handicaps are prepared by their history to take full advantage of the new age symbolized by this the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco.

THE WATERWAYS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY

RECENTLY, as I have studied this subject its magnitude has grown more apparent. The space allotted my paper will permit little more than a historical sketch. It has been my life work to gather together the written and printed history of the Pacific Northwest, but I am not a professional writer of it.

For my purpose this caption refers to the Columbia River and its tributaries, and Puget Sound and the rivers emptying into it, including the Fraser, and their watersheds. The Columbia and Fraser are the only rivers that break through the great mountain ranges which parallel the shore of Washington and Oregon. With the Pacific Ocean only a few miles away, with its intricate network of great and lesser rivers, and its inland tidal waters whose aggregate littoral exceeds the distance between Cape Cod and Cape Flattery, it is remarkable how much of the exploration and industrial and commercial development of the Pacific Northwest has come from the East towards the West.

Alexander Mackenzie in 1793, when he discovered the upper reaches of the Great River; Lewis and Clark in 1805; Simon Fraser and John Stuart in 1805–6; Daniel W. Harmon in 1810; David Thompson in 1811, and a little later Wilson Price Hunt, and thereafter nearly all the leading men of the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, braved the hardships and dangers of the trip over the Rocky Mountains and down the turbulent waters of the Columbia or the Fraser.

John McLoughlin, James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden, Nathaniel J. Wyeth and the first missionaries, John C. Frémont, B. L. E. Bonneville, all led expeditions westward. Astoria was founded from the sea, and the expeditions of Astor's party to establish inland posts went up the river from the west, but they

were all failures. For nearly seventy years the canoe and the bateau, the ox team or the horse team attached to the prairie schooner, were the instruments whereby the pioneers searched out the country and peopled its valleys and plains.

During the period between 1842 and 1855, old Oregon was mostly peopled by immigrants from the Mississippi valley, who came overland. After the completion of the railroad across the Isthmus in 1855, immigrants from near the Atlantic seaboard took steamer at New York City for Aspinwall, crossed the Isthmus by rail, thence to San Francisco by steamer and to Oregon and Washington by sailing craft or steamer. Troubles with Indians between the Missouri and Columbia, of frequence in the later 'fifties, followed closely by the great Civil War period, materially checked the influx of population overland. In fact, not until the completion of the Northern Pacific in 1883, and soon afterward of the Oregon Shortline, did the real development of Oregon and Washington begin.

In 1850 there were in old Oregon only 13,000 white settlers, 1049 of whom lived north of the Columbia River; in 1860 Oregon had 52,000, Washington, 11,500; in 1870, Oregon 91,000, Washington 24,000; in 1880, Oregon 175,000, Washington 75,000; in 1890, Oregon 314,000, Washington 349,000. The Northern Pacific Railroad had been completed in 1883, quickly followed by the Oregon Shortline, and Washington had gained nearly fivefold in a decade and had passed her older sister in population. In 1900 Oregon had 414,000, Washington 518,000; in 1910 Oregon had 673,000, with Washington 1,142,000, or a gain by the latter of more than 100 per cent in ten years. Oregon had an assessed valuation of 905 millions and Washington, 1025 millions. Neither had a bonded debt.

The Canadian Pacific, Great Northern, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, Northern Pacific, Oregon Shortline and Southern Pacific railroads had all reached Pacific coast terminals, and in consequence the great Northwest had gained remarkably in population, wealth and volume of trade and commerce.

In the Willamette valley the water power afforded by the streams of the Cascades and Coast ranges served to operate the early wood working and flouring mills, the woolen mills and small

manufacturing plants, but on Puget Sound it was more economical to operate the saw-mills by steam where the ships could reach the docks easily and quickly.

Almost immediately after their arrival at Tumwater, the first American settlers began building a saw-mill and a grist-mill on the bank of the Des Chutes River. The irons were bought from the Hudson's Bay Company and the millstones were made from a large granite boulder near by. Both mills were run by water power. A few other small mills were constructed elsewhere on the Sound, but all were financial failures.

No large city has grown up in the Northwest on the site of the great water powers of the Columbia, Fraser, Willamette or smaller streams. Also, excepting Victoria and New Westminster, no large city has grown up on the site of the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company or the villages first started by the American settlers in the Willamette valley or on Puget Sound. Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Tacoma, and Vancouver in British Columbia, appeared on the map years after a dozen of their early rivals had been thriving little towns, and the most successful were founded by farmers from the Mississippi valley who, perhaps, had never seen a large city.

A regular transportation line was established on the Lower Columbia in 1843; and in 1845, deep sea vessels began to frequent the harbor of Victoria and the Columbia River. These included many war vessels of the United States and Great Britain. Steamship communication, more or less irregular, began between San Francisco and the Columbia River in 1850, and between the former city and Puget Sound about 1857, though the *Otter* and other steamers had made occasional trips on the latter route long before that time. Also, about 1850, steamers began to operate on the Lower Willamette and on the Columbia below the Cascades.

After Vancouver's day little is reported of the Puget Sound region for about thirty years. As early as 1827 the schooners *Vancouver* and *Cadboro*, owned and operated by the Hudson's Bay Company, are known to have sailed from the Columbia River to Puget Sound and engaged in traffic with the natives as far north as Sitka. In 1836 the Steamer *Beaver* arrived in the Columbia River from England, but in a short time she left the

Columbia and began running up and down the coast in and out of the rivers, bays, and inlets between Puget Sound and Alaska, carrying grain and other food stuffs northward and bringing back furs and skins and at times towing sailing vessels to and fro.

During all the early years, down the waters of the Willamette and Columbia came considerable wheat and other grains, but freight rates were so high that little profit was realized by the grower and the acreage in consequence increased but slowly. The lumber exports of the Columbia River region also were large. On Puget Sound, until metal supplanted wood in shipbuilding, numerous cargoes of ships' spars went to the Atlantic seaboard and to Europe, but sawed lumber and piles, with shingles and lath to complete the stowage, were the chief articles of export. Good coal was mined on Vancouver Island earlier than on the American side of Puget Sound, but no considerable shipments abroad began until after 1870. For more than thirty years thereafter the coal mining industry of the Puget Sound country ranked closely after the lumber business and a large fleet of seagoing vessels was constantly employed in the trade. During recent years the use of oil in competition with coal for fuel has curtailed greatly the output of the northern coal mines.

It is more than 1650 miles from the mouth of the Columbia to the uppermost point of navigation, but rapids and falls occur at frequent intervals. Until quite recently no continuous navigation of more than three hundred and fifty miles was practicable. Traffic between Portland and Lewiston, Idaho, required the operation of three separate steamers on as many stretches of the stream and still another on the upper Willamette. This made necessary artificial methods of getting freight and passengers around the breaks in the river, and it was not long before an absolute monopoly was held by one company on the Columbia and by another on the upper Willamette, though attempts at independent operation of boats on the latter were frequent. To-day, a steamer can run from Lewiston to Astoria, or, if of light enough draught, to Eugene on the Willamette.

In 1850 a wooden tramroad was built on the north side and later another on the south side around the cascades of the Columbia. Late in the 50's the Oregon Steam Navigation Com-

pany gained control of them and installed a steam railroad on the north side.

About 1860 that company began the construction of a railroad from The Dalles to Celilo, which commenced operations in 1862, during a period of intense mining activity in Idaho, Eastern Oregon and Northern Washington. Thereafter it practically owned the Columbia above the Cascades. The history of its operations and exactions and of the colossal fortunes it piled up for its stockholders reads like fiction.

The first actual improvement of a waterway that I remember was at Oregon City. In 1860, at the west side of the Willamette River, the local transportation company constructed basins above and below the falls, so that a long warehouse covered both landing places, making it a comparatively easy matter to transfer freight up and down, while passengers walked. About 1870, the company replaced this system by a short canal with locks.

For a great many years the United States has made liberal appropriations to be used in overcoming the difficulties of navigation of the Columbia River and its main tributaries. Under date of August 6, 1915, Major Arthur Williams, United States Engineer of the First Oregon district, furnished the following list of original expenditures:

Snake River, in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, including $85,000 appropriated by the state of Washington, $338,786.43; Columbia River and tributaries above Celilo Falls to the mouth of Snake River, Oregon and Washington, including $25,000 from the state of Washington, $494,600.84; Columbia River at The Dalles, Oregon and Washington (Dalles-Celilo Canal), $4,685,855.79; canal at the Cascades of the Columbia River, Oregon and Washington, $3,912,473.33; Columbia River between Vancouver, Washington, and the mouth of the Willamette River, $97,532.16; Oregon Slough (North Portland Harbor), Oregon, $34,437.60. In addition to the foregoing $390,921.58 have been expended in operation and maintenance.

In a letter of recent date from Chas. L. Potter, Lieutenant Colonel, Corps of United States Engineers, are tabulated the amounts heretofore expended in the second district on all river and harbor improvements to June 30, 1915, as follows:

Willamette River above Portland, and Yamhill River, Oregon, $857,671.92; operating and care of lock and dam in Yamhill River, Oregon, $43,426.95; Willamette River at Willamette Falls, Oregon, $83,441.71; operating and care of canal and locks in Willamette River, near Oregon City, Oregon, $344.22; Columbia and Lower Willamette rivers below Portland, Oregon, $3,577,958.35; mouth of Columbia River, Oregon and Washington, $13,156,162.52; Clatskanie River, Oregon, $18,867.34; Cowlitz River, Washington, $102.208.63; Lewis River, Washington, $39,587.19; Cowlitz and Lewis rivers, Washington, and Clatskanie River, Oregon, dredge and snagboat, $36,138.04; Grays River, Washington, $3,857.23.

Had this opening up to navigation been completed prior to the building of the railroads along the banks of the rivers and across the mountains, it would have been of inestimable benefit to the tributary country, but until its present population shall have increased ten fold, perhaps twenty fold, and the railroads shall be unable to handle the traffic; when the waterway craft shall be aids to the railroads, not competitors, I believe transportation of freight by steamboats or by barges with tugs will be impracticable. Steamboat service up the swift current with little cargo will fully offset any cheapening that may be possible down stream, so that most of the business will continue to be done by the railroads. However, the open river will undoubtedly be a check upon the railroads.

A few weeks ago, at Lewiston, during the rejoicings over the opening of the upper Columbia to free navigation, one of the leading speakers remarked that the party in steaming up the river had seen but one other boat and she was tied to the dock.

The state of Washington was in some measure benefited jointly with Oregon by the work in the Columbia basin noted above. The actual expenditures by the United States in Washington have been small in comparison. On Willapa Harbor they have been $241,878.39; at Gray's Harbor $3,231,906.78; on Puget Sound they have been, at Olympia, $197,701.35; at Tacoma, $324,784.10; at Everett and Snohomish, $664,752.59; at Bellingham, $149,834.69; Skagit River, $101,455.54; Swinomish, $217,652.29. In addition to the work done at Tacoma by the United States, the railroads and the municipality have spent

large sums in providing docks and other shipping facilities, and it is equipped to handle its full share of the Sound and seagoing traffic. The foregoing figures were furnished me from the office of the resident United States Engineer, Major J. B. Cavanaugh.

Portland is the overshadowing city of the Columbia basin, and has always handled most of its business, while on Puget Sound trade and commerce have been divided. It is all a vast harbor and its cities have had access almost equally to the sea. Seattle, Tacoma, Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, Everett, Bellingham, Anacortes, Olympia, and Port Townsend are credited with an aggregate of nearly three-quarters of a million of inhabitants.

During the last ten years there has been expended in Seattle more than fifteen millions of dollars in harbor improvements. By the operations of the Seattle & Lake Washington Waterway Co. there have been 1400 acres of land filled, much of it now covered with buildings of a most substantial character. When this company began operations these lands were covered twice a day from six to sixteen feet with tidal water. Through them it dug waterways forty and fifty feet deep at low tide two and one half miles long, 1000 feet wide, and two miles additional five hundred feet wide. This has required the construction of seven miles of bulkheads, all at a cost of a little more than five millions of dollars, all paid by the owners of the filled-in lands. Some four hundred additional acres of land, at times covered by the tides or by high waters of the Duwamish River, have been reclaimed.

A ship canal between the waters of Puget Sound and Lake Union and Washington is now nearing completion and is expected to be in use during the current year. It will admit the passage of ships drawing thirty feet of water, directly into the lakes.

The locks at the outer entrance have been constructed by the United States government. The larger is 850 feet long and is the second in size on the American continent, being exceeded in size by one of the locks of the Panama Canal. They cost $2,275,000. The state of Washington, county of King and city of Seattle contributed $1,250,000 to pay for condemnation of the necessary land and dredging and digging of the canals. Add to

this $6,000,000, raised by the sale of longtime bonds voted by the people and expended by the Port Commission of Seattle for docks and warehouses, refrigerator plants and other facilities for speedy and economical handling of cargoes of grain, fruit, fish, lumber, coal, etc., and the above aggregate of $15,000,000 has been passed.

John W. B. Blackman, Esq., City Engineer of New Westminster, B.C., has supplied information regarding Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster, British Columbia, as follows: Expenditures in Fraser River in opening, deepening, straightening, etc., $1,399,645.05; in Vancouver, mostly in widening the Narrows, $2,174,148.45; at Victoria in recent years, $750,000 in round numbers, has been spent in blasting and removing rock from the inner harbor, and a new break-water is now being constructed at an estimated cost of $3,000,000.

The canoe and bateau gave place to the steamboat, the steam cars took away from the steamboat much of its business, and in the last quarter century the city and interurban electric cars have taken over much of the short haul traffic, while to-day the motor car is dividing the passenger service and almost monopolizing the transportation of garden and dairy products into and about the cities. Who shall predict how soon some other method of transportation shall make the land and water traffic of to-day seem as archaic as the ox team compared with a high power racing car?

The streams of Oregon and Washington afford one-third of the available water power of the United States. A small part of this is now being used to develop electric energy, transmitted at long distances at high voltage, though not comparable with one line in California that is transmitting electricity at a voltage of 150,000 a distance of about 250 miles. The potential possibilities are so vast they can scarcely be estimated. In the North one of the transcontinental railroad lines is formulating plans to operate its trains electrically between the Rocky Mountains and Puget Sound. The first cost will be great, but when the new service begins its greater economy and comfort will undoubtedly compel all competing lines to follow the lead of their rival.

The Panama Canal has been in operation only a year and it is too soon even to predict its influence upon the ocean commerce of the North Pacific, but so far little of the lumber, fish, or other

commodities from the Northwest have gone through it eastward. Its influence has been almost negligible, and while considerable freight has gone from the Middle States eastward fifteen hundred miles to Atlantic ports and thence around by water, the railroads of the Pacific Northwest have not as yet seen cause to alter their tariffs because of it. Doubtless, when the great war in Europe is ended, and normal conditions are regained, the Pacific Northwest will enjoy in full measure the benefit of this great ocean waterway.

To-day passenger ships leave Puget Sound for Alaska ports on an average of every eighteen hours, and nearly as many freighters ply on the same route.

The ocean commerce of the North Pacific with eastern Siberia, Japan, China, the Indies, and the Philippines across the Pacific, and with San Francisco, Hawaiian Islands and through the Panama Canal has, in the last few years, reached enormous proportions. Already the resources of six great transcontinental railroad systems are taxed to the uttermost to handle their part of it.

On the floor of the United States Senate, January 24, 1843, in the course of debate upon "The Oregon Bill," participated in by Senators Archer, Benton, Calhoun, Choate, Linn, Morehead, McRoberts and Woodbury, Calhoun gave utterance to the following:

"But it may be asked, 'what then? Shall we abandon our claim to the territory?' I answer, no. I am utterly opposed to that; but, as bad as that would be, it would not be as much so as to adopt a rash and precipitate measure, which, after great sacrifices, would finally end in its loss. But I am opposed to both. My object is to preserve and not to lose the territory. I do not agree with my eloquent and able colleague that it is worthless. He has under-rated it, both as to soil and climate. It contains a vast deal of land, it is true, that is barren and worthless; but not a little that is highly productive. To that may be added its commercial advantages, which will, in time, prove to be great. We must not overlook the important events to which I have alluded as having recently occurred in the eastern portion of Asia. As great as they are, they are but the beginning of a

series of a similar character, which must follow at no distant day. What has taken place in China, will, in a few years, be followed in Japan, and all the eastern portions of that continent. Their ports, like the Chinese, will be opened; and the whole of that portion of Asia, containing nearly half of the population and wealth of the globe, will be thrown open to the commerce of the world and be placed within the pales of European and American intercourse and civilization. A vast market will be created, and a mighty impulse will be given to commerce. No small portion of the share that would fall to us with this populous and industrious portion of the globe is destined to pass through the ports of the Oregon Territory to the valley of the Mississippi, instead of taking the circuitous and long voyage around Cape Horn; or the still longer, around the Cape of Good Hope. It is mainly because I place this high estimate on its prospective value that I am so solicitous to preserve it, and so adverse to this bill, or any other precipitate measure which might terminate in its loss. If I thought less of its value, or if I regarded our title less clear, my opposition would be less decided."

The present witnesses the culmination of this remarkable prophecy made by one of America's ablest statesmen more than seventy years ago.

SPANISH AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN

THE MONARCHICAL PLANS OF GENERAL SAN MARTÍN

E. Larrabure y Unanue

Extracted from *Les Archives des Indes et la Bibliothèque Colombine de Séville: Renseignements sur leurs richesses bibliographiques et sur l'exposition d'anciens documents relatifs à l'Amérique*, pp. 51–56, and presented to the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, by Señor Don E. Larrabure y Unanue, President of the Historical Institute of Lima (Peru), former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Republic.

I propose in this paper to give an account of one of the most important files which I examined at Seville. It is classified as: *Audiencia de Lima, Expediente sobre el levantamiento del Perú. Año 1821.* Legajo N° 28. Est. 3. Caj. 1.

It contains chiefly manuscripts and a very few printed documents. Among the latter, there is one of sixteen folio pages, printed at Lima in the "Casa de Expōsitos," 1820. It is a *Manifesto* of the meetings which had been held in the city of Miraflores to examine the dealings with General San Martín and the documents presented by those who had been concerned therein.

It is well known that these negotiations failed. "I infinitely regret," said General San Martín to Viceroy Pezuela, in a letter written at Chincha, October 5, 1820, "that your Excellency is not authorized to work for peace, except on the impossible condition of swearing allegiance to the Spanish Constitution. . . ." This statement is confirmed two days later by the viceroy, who declares in fact that he does not have the said authorization.

Next come other documents, some originals and some copies, useful in studying the history of those efforts toward peace which, in Peru as in the other American countries, always failed for the same reason, namely the absurd pretension of Ferdinand VII,

who was then a mere plaything of court politics, that the American peoples should renounce the right to govern themselves.

Next is docketed the correspondence between the new viceroy of Lima, La Serna, and General San Martín in 1820, various notes, instructions for the celebration of the armistice, and other papers, even later in date than the proclamation of independence in the main square of Lima on July 28, 1821, as well as documents relating to the capitulation of the Callao fortresses in September 1821.

But what is even more important than all these, is a bundle of papers which is marked: *Reserved.*

To-day, in historical material, there is no longer any such thing as "Reserved." I remember a prominent Venezuelan historian, somewhat hostile to General San Martín, who said, in speaking of the general's conferences with the royal deputy, Manuel Abreu: "*It will not be posible to determine that* (*i.e.*, what took place in these conferences), *until the correspondence of Abreu in the Spanish Archives is studied.*" [1]

Well, this correspondence has recently been in my hands, and everything in it (if the Venezuelan critic will pardon me) redounds to the honor of General San Martín.

After the word *Reserved*, there is added a short note: "Manuel Abreu, sent out for the pacification of Peru, forwards from Lima, under date of November 6, 1821, an account of the events which took place during the negotiations with the dissidents, and encloses the gazettes of this City up to September 21, 1821, together with other printed documents."

A complete copy of this very interesting autograph document would take a great deal of space in this brochure, and I prefer to extract from it what is of greatest importance.

The envoy Abreu reports to his government: that, since Nepeña, he observed enthusiasm for the cause of independence; that the authorities had orders to treat him, as he passed through, as if he were "General San Martín himself;" that the Spanish prisoners were well treated, and charged him to thank the said general on their behalf; that the general sent S^{res} Arenales and

[1] Carlos A. Villanueva, *Ferdnando VII y los nuevos Estados*. P. Ollendorff, Paris, 1914.

Guido to receive him; that, afterwards, the general received him at Huaura and that he, for his part, fulfilled the prisoners' request.

He adds that the general, having invited him to lunch on March 28, placed him on his right, while General Heres sat at the general's left.

During the conversation, the finest courtesy was observed, and the persons present contented themselves with saying that a treaty would never be possible on any terms other than a recognition of independence; to which he replied that, although his instructions were more ample than those which had been received by Viceroy Pezuela, they did not admit of these terms.

Here is an exact account of the statements which General San Martín made to him as he was leaving:

"This evening, before leaving for Chancay, San Martín came to bid me good-by and, taking me aside, he told me that he had planned to take Lima by investing it and by preventing all shipments of provisions, without engaging in an action; and that, if he were attacked and deemed it expedient to resist, intrenched at Huaura, the gravel pits must spell disaster for the Spaniards in their retreat toward Lima. If, however, he did not meet them before he embarked, and did not by chance baffle them with the great success for which he was reserving his own soldiers, he did not care; all that was needed for the Lima troops was an uprising of the whole country. That if Spain persisted in continuing the war, Peru would be exterminated; and then, without taking any account of the means employed, he would mobilize all those whom he had under his hand; although it was not a part of his plans to adopt this measure, for the same disasters that had happened at San Domingo would result. That he knew very well the powerlessness of America to erect itself into an independent republic, because it lacks virtues and civilization; and that, in the presence of these extremes, he had agreed with the men of his army to crown a Spanish prince, as the only means of stifling the currents of hostility and of reorganizing families and interests; and that, out of honor and deference to the Peninsula, advantageous commercial treaties would be made; and that, as touching Buenos Aires, (here there are two and a half lines in cipher, various signs, and

above them, the translation which follows) he would make use of his bayonets to compel them to this idea in case they were not favorable to it. In no wise did I enter into a discussion, contenting myself with the fact that he had doubtless taken note of my argument with Guido and Paroissien. We separated; and Guido and Paroissien, another colonel and a commandant accompanied me as far as Huacho."

He then relates that he arrived at the quarters of the Spanish General Cantérac, and he complains of the general's conduct and of the rude treatment he received at the hands of the latter's aides-de-camp.

As soon as he reached Lima, he made haste to visit the viceroy. In his dispatch, he shows himself little in sympathy with General Cantérac, and criticises at the same time the Spanish journalist Rico. New conferences at Punchauca having been arranged, he gives a report of them, and adds that General San Martín sought him out again to propose to him the formation of a regency at Lima; the union of the two armies, following a Declaration of Independence; and a journey to the Peninsula to be made by him, San Martín, in order to ask of the Cortes at Madrid a Spanish prince as king. He then reports the interview of Viceroy La Serna with General San Martín.

This communication, bearing the autograph signature of the envoy Manuel Abreu, is dated at Lima, November 6, 1821, and addressed to "His Excellency the Secretary of State and of the Overseas Government."

It would have been impossible for General San Martín to carry farther his sacrifices in favor of peace and of the race. But what favorable consideration did they receive at court. Absolutely none!

When in this document is seen, as in those which precede and in those which follow it, the noble peace-loving spirit and the desire to come to an understanding with the mother country; when in Mexico, Colombia, and other countries of America, the manifestations tending in the same direction are recalled; when the way in which the court replied is observed, scorning the advice of its own envoys and even deeply wounding their delicacy and their patriotism, to the extent of letting them die in exile, as

happened to poor O'Donojú; when the stubborn refusal of Ferdinand VII, the indifference of the Chambers, and inconsistencies such as the Count of Toreno's, in a matter which involved the rights of the colonies is witnessed; when it is learned that England and France made no opposition, but rather accepted it that the Americans should stipulate for concessions favorable to Spanish commerce and industries; when all this is considered, one comes to think that never in the history of the world have there been men more virtuous or more worthy of veneration than the founders of Spanish-American independence, nor a cause more just and more noble than theirs.

We must repeat these truths, because they are unknown to many foreigners who, in their ignorance, are so ready to calumniate the Spanish-American peoples.

And at the head of these eminent men, History will always place General San Martín.

The historian Mitre, speaking of the envoy Manuel Abreu, characterizes him as "a man of little talent and little discretion," and he attacks General San Martín on the subject of his monarchical ideas. In my opinion, these judgments are rather thoughtless. In the light of what I know, Abreu appears rather as a sober-minded functionary, without animosity, who communicated to his government what the nature of his mission obliged him to report.

As for General San Martin's monarchical ideas, can they be condemned by a sound criticism? No. The foremost captains held the same ideas, just as did those men of superior intelligence whom we have to thank for independence. "Bolívar was not a republican; he was a monarchist at heart." [1]

And this is not the opinion of a single writer; Bolívar himself said: "Our fellow-countrymen are not yet qualified to exercise their rights fully and independently, because they lack those political virtues which characterize the true republican." [2]

Views similar to those of these two great geniuses were held by Dr. Unanue and the leading men of the time: they believed

[1] C. A. Villanueva, *Fernando VII y los nuevos Estados*, p. 184.
[2] *Manifiesto de Cartagena*, by Colonel Bolívar, 1812. Jules Mancini, *Bolívar*, Paris, 1914.

that after the colonial government, which had lasted for three centuries, the people were not ready to go over suddenly to a Republican form of government.

The education which had been received by the middle and lower classes of the Spanish colonies was very different from that of the English possessions of North America; and as for France, whose democratic institutions might be taken as a model by the new states of North America, the difference in civilization and progress was even more considerable.

These are the reasons, certainly well founded, why the principal generals and exponents of South American emancipation foresaw a period of bloody revolts and of anarchy which might well compromise or delay the success of their work; while in the constitutional monarchical form of government they saw a necessary transition to the republican, just as later happened in Brazil. Were they right?

There are some writers who say no.

But we must distinguish between the criticism which is inspired by the philosophy of history, and the criticism which is fitted rather to flatter popular appetites and which readily arouses the enthusiasm of inexperienced persons.

As for me, I choose the former.

THE EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF FATHER GARCÉS ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE

HERBERT E. BOLTON

IT is the popular opinion in the country at large, inculcated by uninformed writers of school histories, that Spanish activities within the present limits of the United States reached their climax with the founding of St. Augustine and Santa Fé. The fact is, however, that from 1519 to the opening of the nineteenth century, Spain continued steadily to extend her frontiers northward, and that the last third of the eighteenth century was a period of as great advance as any other of equal length after the death of Cortés. This activity involved not only the founding of new missions and settlements and the occupation of new military outposts, but embraced also an extensive series of explorations, quite as vast and important for territory now within the United States as the earlier expeditions.

Before the end of the sixteenth century Spanish settlement spread northward from the West Indies into Florida, and in northern Mexico to a line roughly drawn from the mouth of the Rio Grande, through Cerralvo, Parral, and San Juan de Sinaloa. In the course of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, the wide interstices were filled in, and another tier of provinces was carved out in the north — New Mexico, Coahuila, Texas, Nuevo Santander, Sonora, and Baja California — a series of jurisdictions extending from the Pacific Ocean nearly to the middle of the present state of Louisiana.

In the course of this work of frontier colonization, the country which had been hurriedly run over in the early sixteenth century was gradually reëxplored in greater detail. On the northern borders Kino reached the Gila, Keller and Sedelmayr crossed it, Castillo and Guadalajara reconnoitered the middle Colorado of Texas, Oñate crossed the Arkansas, Villazur reached the North

Platte, and Bustamante y Tagle went well down the Arkansas, while the whole southeastern quarter of Texas, east of Eagle Pass and south of San Sabá, was quite thoroughly explored.

But as late as 1769 the interior of Alta California was practically unknown, the California coast had not been run by a recorded exploration since Vizcaíno, the Utah Basin was all but untrod by white man, the trail from Santa Fé to the Missouri had been little used by Spaniards since 1720, the whole northern half of Texas was almost unknown to recorded exploration, and direct communication had never been established between Santa Fé and San Antonio, or between El Paso and San Antonio. To retrace these forgotten trails on the borders of the settled portions of New Spain, and to push far beyond the borders by water to Alaska, and by the land to the Sacramento, the San Joaquín, the Utah Basin, and even to the upper waters of the Missouri, was the exploratory work of the Spaniards in the later eighteenth century.

One of the noteworthy figures in this work was Fray Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés, a Franciscan missionary of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Pimería Alta in 1767, fourteen Querétarans were sent to take their places. Among them was Father Garcés, who was assigned to the mission of San Xavier del Bac, then and still standing nine miles south of Tucson. It was his position at this northernmost outpost, combined with his rare personal qualities, that brought him into prominence in the new wave of frontier advance. His principal contributions to the explorations of the period were (1) to reopen the trails made by Kino, Keller, and Sedelmayr, to the Gila and through the Papaguería, (2) to serve as pathfinder across the Yuma and Colorado deserts, and as guide for Anza to the foot of the San Jacinto Mountains, when he led the first overland expedition from Sonora to California, and (3) to discover a way from Yuma to New Mexico, and across the Mojave desert to Los Angeles and the Tulares, and between these two points by way of the Tejón Pass. Altogether, his pathfinding, accomplished without the aid of a single white man, covered more than a thousand miles of untrod trails, and furnished an example of physical endurance and human courage that have rarely been excelled.

But the place of Garcés in southwestern exploration in general has been well established through the scholarly work of Dr. Coues, and he needs no eulogy from me. The occasion for reopening the subject arises from the discovery of much new material regarding Garcés since Coues published the diary of 1775 in 1900. No attempt will be made to do over again what Coues has done so well; and the emphasis of this paper will be directed to the three following points: (1) Recent accessions to original manuscript materials relating to the early explorations of Father Garcés. (2) The new light shed by these materials upon Garcés's early explorations in general, and upon his journey of 1771 in particular, and, (3) The importance of Garcés in the opening of an overland route to Los Angeles.

Up to the present our knowledge of the explorations of Father Garcés has been confined almost wholly to what is contained in Arricivita's *Crónica Apostólica* and the diary of the fifth and last expedition — that edited by Coues. For the fourth expedition, made with Anza, Bancroft had access to an abridgment of a diary made by Anza, and Eldredge had Anza's diary in one of its completer forms. For the first four expeditions the sole guide of Coues was what is contained in Arricivita and the summary of Anza's diary given by Bancroft.

In addition to Arricivita and the Anza diary of 1774, known to Bancroft and Eldredge, and the diary of the fifth expedition (1775–1776), we now have, from the Mexican archives, the following manuscript materials:

(*a*) Diary by Garcés of his expedition of 1770.[1]

(*b*) Diary by Garcés of his expedition of 1771.[2]

(*c*) Diary by Garcés of his expedition of 1774.[3]

(*d*) Diaries of the 1774 expedition by Anza and Father Juan Díaz.[4]

[1] *Diario que se ha formado por el Viage hecho á el Rio Gila quando los Yndios Pimas Gileños me llamaron á fin de que baptisase sus hijos que estaban enfermos del Sarampion.*

[2] *Diario que se ha formado con la ocasion de la entrada que hize a los vecinos Gentiles.*

[3] *Diario de la entrada que se practica de orden del Exmo Sr. Vi Rey Dn. Antonio Maria Bucarely y Ursua producida en Junta de Guerra i real acienda á fin de abrir camino por los rios Gila y Colorado para los nuebos establecimientos de San Diego y Monte Rey*, etc.

[4] *Diario, que forma el Padre Fr. Juan Diaz Missionero Appco. del Colegio de la Sta Cruz de Queretaro, en el viage, que hace en compañía del R. P. Fr. Franco Garces*

(*e*) A summary by Garcés of his first four expeditions.[1]

(*f*) A special ethnological report by Garcés based on the fifth expedition, and supplementary to the diary edited by Coues.[2]

(*g*) A great quantity of correspondence of Garcés, Anza, Díaz, and others, relating to the general question of northward expansion from Sonora between 1768 and 1776, of which Garcés's explorations formed a part.

All of this new material referred to was discovered in the archives of Mexico by the present writer between the years 1903 and 1908. Much of it was made available through the present writer to Richman for use in his history of California; but Mr. Richman's study of the work of Garcés was so incidental that, practically speaking, the materials thus far have not been utilized for the purpose in question.[3]

As I have stated, for the first three expeditions of Garcés — those of 1768, 1770, and 1771 — Arricivita has been our sole guide. Regarding the first, he made it known that Garcés went west and north through the Papaguería to a village on the Gila, but did not indicate what or where the village was. Coues inferred from what Arricivita states that the ranchería visited on the Gila was a Pápago village. But we now know, from the diary of 1770, that the ranchería was the Pima village of Pitiaque, a short distance below Casa Grande, and was the village of the head chief of the Pimas.

Regarding the route and the extent of Garcés's expedition to the Gila in 1770, Coues was able only to conjecture that it extended to some point below modern Sacatón. But from the diary we are now able to fix the precise limits, both where he struck and where he left the Gila, as well as the names and locations of most of the places visited between these points. Garcés reached the Gila at Pitac, just below Casa Grande. From there he passed through Pitiaque, Saboy, Uturituc and Napcut, before reaching Salt

para abrir camino desde la Provincia de la Sonora á la California Septentrional, y puerto de Monterrey por los Rios y Colorado, etc.

[1] *Copia de las noticias sacadas, y remitidas por el Pe. Predicador Fr Franco Garces de los Diarios que ha formado en las quatro entradas practicadas desde el año de 68 hasta el presente de 75 á la frontera septentrinal de los Gentiles de Nueva España.*

[2] Report by Father Garcés to Fray Diego Ximénez, in *Copia de barios Papeles del R. P. Fr Franco Garces, Missionero en la Pimeria alta.*

[3] They are being utilized by Professor Charles E. Chapman for his forthcoming work, *The Founding of Spanish California.*

River; and below that stream through Suta Queson, around the Gila Bend through Tucabi and Ogiatogia to San Simón y Judas de Uparsoitac, at the western elbow of the Great Bend of the Gila. From there he returned southeast to San Xavier, "travelling half lost" among the Pápago villages.

Such in briefest *résumé* is the light shed by the new documents on the first two expeditions of Father Garcés. Much more important, as a step toward California, than either of the foregoing expeditions, was that of 1771; and much more considerable is the new light shed upon it by our new materials. Of this expedition Arricivita, though he had a diary, gave a most confused account, and Coues added strangely to the confusion. Neither they nor any one else has hitherto shown that Garcés was the first white man to succeed in crossing the Colorado desert over which Anza made his way in 1774. Bancroft was not even sure whether Garcés crossed the Colorado River or not; Coues was convinced that he crossed the Colorado, but was completely at sea as to his itinerary.

So badly indeed has this expedition been treated, and so little has its importance been recognized, that nothing will serve, even in a twenty-minute paper, short of a general restatement. A mere correction or supplement here and there, as in the case of the earlier journeys, will not suffice.

The first two expeditions had been made for missionary purposes, and with a view to extending the missionary frontier to the Gila. Garcés's enthusiastic reports had much to do with advancing the project in Mexico, and he was soon given to understand that its success was certain. Consequently, he undertook another expedition, to search for the best sites for the new establishments and to prepare the heathen for the coming of the friars.

Leaving mission San Xavier in charge of a supernumerary, on August 8, 1771, with one horse and three Indian guides, he journeyed west. The first stage of the journey was through the Papaguería to Sonóita, a deserted outpost which had been established by Kino in 1699, and abandoned as a result of a massacre in 1750. On the way he passed through Ca Cowista, Pipia, Aiti, El Camoqui, Estojavabi, Cubba, El Aquitum, and Zonai. It had been the principal purpose of Garcés to go to the Gila Pimas, but

at Cubba he heard that the Yumas were friends of the western Pápagos; and since he had promised while on the Gila to go to see the Yumas, and since the Pimas were hostile to that tribe, he concluded that this was his opportunity to make them a visit.

The Indians at Sonóita raised objections to his passing on, but these were overcome, Garcés says, "by means of divine providence, the good will of the governor, and my firmness and tenacity"; and leaving his mission Indians and apparatus for saying mass at Sonóita, on August 17 he again set out for the west.

To the foot of the Gila range he was still on a known road, for it had been travelled several times by Father Kino. But it was a terrible trail, none the less — a forbidding, waterless desert, which has since become the graveyard of scores of travellers who have died of thirst, because they lacked the skill and endurance of a Kino or a Garcés. Its terrors have justly given it the name of Camino del Diablo, or Devil's highway.

After passing Tinajas Altas, the tanks in the mountain top discovered by Kino, instead of turning north along the eastern flank of the Gila range, as Kino had always done,[1] Garcés passed the range and headed west over an unknown desert along the sand dunes near the present international boundary, planning to go directly to the Colorado. But, being met by some Pimas, he was induced by them to go first to the Gila. Accordingly, on the 21st he turned north and on the 23d reached the Gila, about ten leagues above its mouth, and east of the Gila range, which he evidently crossed on the way. Turning down the river he went through the Narrows, passed the Noragua village below, and at ten o'clock at night arrived at the Yumas, opposite the junction.

From this point, it is clear, Garcés was much confused as to his whereabouts, and Arricivita and Coues were equally confused. Though Garcés was now near the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, he did not know it, and for many days he continued down stream thinking he was on the Gila, and looking for the Colorado. While on his next journey, in 1774, he discovered his mistake, and confessed it, both in his diary and his *Noticias*. His reason for making the mistake, he says, was "because in those

[1] According to Ortega, Fatuher Sedelmayr in 1750 returned from the lower Colorado to Sonóita across the Yuma Desert (*Hist. del Nayarit*, 452–453).

days there had been such heavy rains, the like of which had not been seen for many years, that the Gila was greatly swollen," consequently when he reached the Colorado he saw no increase in the size of the stream he was following.

Next day the principal chief of the region, with a great throng, came across the river with presents, and offered to accompany Garcés on his journey and back to his mission. This chief was Ollyquotquiebe, the Yuma later known as Salvador Palma, and a prominent figure in the next decade's history. But in his diary Garcés calls him a Pima, Arricivita so records him, and others have followed suit; the consequence is that Palma has been first introduced into history in 1774, in connection with the Anza expedition, instead of in 1771, when he became known to Garcés. But in his *Noticias* Garcés corrects this error as well as the foregoing.

There will be no space for relating the incidents of Garcés's journey from this point, and I must be content merely to indicate his route. He asked to be taken to the Colorado, and twice the chief took him thither, and down the river to San Pablo (Pilot Knob), but, as he had missed the junction, and as the stream looked no larger than before, Garcés refused to believe what was told him. "I did not recognize the fact," he says in his *Noticias*, "that I was travelling along the banks of the Colorado, nor would I believe, in view of the many lies which I have noted in the Indians, that those further down were their enemies. But [later] I learned both of these facts."

The Indians tried to dissuade him from going below, among their enemies, and on the third day the chief deserted him. Three times Garcés set out, alone or with guides who deserted, and three times he was forced to return to the Yumas at San Pablo opposite Pilot Knob.

Finally, on September 1, he set out a fourth time, and on the fourth of the month was at a village which he named Santa Rosa. It was visited again by Garcés in 1774 and in 1775; and from the three diaries we are able to fix its location as about at Ogden's Landing.

In the course of the next twelve days Garcés toiled on under extreme difficulty, and reached the mouth of the Colorado River

at tidewater, near Heintzelman's Point. On the fifth he started south from Santa Rosa, got lost, and went close to the river. On the sixth he ascended a hill forming a sort of a plain overlooking the river bottom, then went to the river and camped. On the seventh and eighth he made little progress because of lagoons and swamps. On the ninth he was where the river turns west, but was forced to go east to get round the lagoons. During the next four days he was so hindered by lagoons and mud that on the thirteenth he decided to turn back to the nearest watering place, give his horse two days' rest, and then make a final try for the sea and the Quiquimas, a tribe living below the Yumas. Travelling northward all night, at daybreak he stopped, when his horse ran away, maddened by hunger and thirst. Giving the animal up for lost, Garcés travelled north on foot all day, but at night, by good luck, his horse appeared on the scene by another route.

We are now in a position to see how confused Arricivita and Coues were in regard to Garcés's course up to this point. On the basis of a statement by Arricivita, Coues writes with confidence: "Next day, the 13th, he [Garcés] followed a trail and saw smoke on the other bank; but being unable to cross he continued down the river westward *nearly to the junction of the Gila with the Colorado*,[1] till the *lagunas* and *tulares* prevented his reaching that point, and he turned southward." Coues continues: "At this date Garcés was in the vicinity of Yuma, for the first time in his life. His course down the Gila is easy to trail, as a whole but not in detail. Now that he turns south, we have more difficulty in tracing his movements from the imperfect and somewhat confused account in Arricivita."

Thus, it is clear that Coues supposed Garcés to have been descending the Gila all the time from August 23 to September 13 — over three weeks — and he says his route "is easy to trail, as a whole." We have seen, however, that Garcés was on the Gila but one day, August 23, when he reached the junction, and that on September 13, when Coues thinks he reached the Colorado, he had been on that stream for three weeks and was now near its mouth. Garcés, however, was himself laboring under the same

[1] The italics are mine.

error, and confessed it later in his *Noticias,* wherein he wrote: "I afterward learned with certainty that from the morning of the 24th till I left the Yumas, which was on the 14th or 15th of October, I was on the banks of the Río Colorado and in its vicinity." The ease with which Coues followed Garcés for three weeks down the Gila when he was in reality on another stream indicates that he was not looking for trouble.

To resume Garcés's journey. Having recovered his horse, on the 15th he retraced his steps toward the south. Next morning, the 16th, he encountered some Cajuenche Indians, from across the river, fishing in the lagoons. They took him to their camp, fed him, guided him to the river three leagues away, made two rafts, and carried him, horse, and baggage, across the stream, to a large settlement, which he called Las Llagas de San Francisco, in honor of the day, September 17, a part of which he spent there. This settlement, Las Llagas de San Francisco, was the traveller's farthest point south, and from the diary of 1775, when Garcés again visited the place, it was clearly at the head of tidewater, near Heintzelman's Point.

The next stage of the journey of Father Garcés was northwestward, parallel with the Cócopa Mountains, to and beyond San Jacome, his last base of operations before returning to the Yumas at Pilot Knob. For this portion of the route we have (besides the diary of 1771, the *Noticias,* and Arricivita) the diaries of 1774, which enable us to fix several points of the route with approximate precision. Of these points the cardinal ones are Cerro Prieto, San Jacome, Santa Rosa de las Laxas, El Rosario, and Santa Olalla. It must be remembered that Garcés was lost, thought the stream he had crossed was the Gila, and was constantly looking for the Colorado, as well as for new tribes.

On the night of the 16th he was "entertained" at Las Llagas by a powwow which kept him awake all night. On the 17th he set out west with guides to find the Colorado, but they deserted. Camping out alone, he continued on the 18th through *tulares* and swamps to a place near the Sierra, where he saw seabirds. But on the 18th he returned, perforce, to Las Llagas.

Here the Indians offered to guide him back to his mission by way of the sand dunes along the gulf. But he insisted on going

on to find the Colorado, unaware that it was this which he had crossed. He set out westward, but "the guide obstinately turned north," and on the 21st he reached a large lagoon, many leagues in length, over which Gárces was towed on a raft, and which he called San Matheo. From Laguna de San Matheo he went three leagues to another large lagoon or bayou, near the Sierra, then returned. Continuing on the 22d up the west bank of Laguna de San Matheo, with the Sierra on his left, on the 23d he passed a black mountain (Cerro Prieto) standing alone, near a dirty, salty arroyo, with a deep bed, which he called San Lino. On the 24th he visited a village called La Merced, to the southwest, and on the 25th returned to San Jacome, near the arroyo and the black mountain.

The approximate location of San Jacome, Garcés's last base of operations westward and northward, is clear. It is evident from the foregoing that since leaving Las Llagas he had travelled parallel with the Cócopa Mountains. It is unsafe to pin one's faith to the shifting lakes and bayous of the Colorado flood plain, but the lake which he crossed on a raft corresponds well with Lake Jululu, sometimes wet and sometimes dry. Arroyo San Lino was clearly New River: the lone black mountain was Cerro Prieto, near the same stream, and still bearing the name which Garcés gave it. San Jacome, therefore, is fixed by Garcés's diary as near the New River and Cerro Prieto, and here its deserted site was found by the Anza expedition in 1774.

From San Jacome as a base, Garcés now worked westward and northward several days. Before he set out he was given clear reports of the Spaniards seven days away, at San Diego, and saw Indians who had visited them. He was also told of Indians near a large body of water, three days west and beyond the Sierra, and he determined to find them. The people, or the water, or both, he was not sure which, were called Maqueque, or Maquete.

On the 26th he went west with guides, who deserted when he refused to go northeast to find water. "But," says Garcés, "the scarcity of water did not bother me, since I thought the Colorado River must be very near, because I was near a sierra to the west." He continued alone to the mountain, therefore, but finding

no water was forced to return to San Jacome, travelling during the night and part of the next day.

On the 28th he set out again to find the Maqueques, and travelled northwest all day and all night over a dry, level plain, absolutely without water. At daybreak he found himself in sight of the Sierra Madre, with smaller mountains apart from it. The main range, he said, ran northwest, and then turned southward, almost forming a figure seven (7). Northwest and north of him he saw two openings or passes in the mountains. He had discovered the foot of the San Jacinto Mountains and San Felipe Pass, which led Anza to Mission San Gabriel three years later.

Being in sore straits for water, he dared not try to make the passes nor go further west. He turned east two leagues, therefore, to look for water. Failing to find it, he was forced to retrace his steps to San Jacome, which he reached at noon on the 31st. The inference is that he and his horse had been without water three and one-half days. This may be impossible.

The exact point reached by Garcés on the morning of September 29th may not be determinable; but its approximate location is clear. He had travelled from San Jacome all day and all night over level country, and with a good horse might well have made fifty miles or more. He had gone northwest to a point where the Cócopa Mountains no longer obstructed his view of the Sierra Madre and the two passes. The principal points to be determined, then, are how far north he got, and whether he crossed the Cócopa range, or continued east of it till he passed its northern extremity.

That he did not cross the range is implied in the diary of 1771 itself, and is made clearer from the diaries of the 1774 expedition. That expedition passed San Jacome and Cerro Prieto, and ten leagues beyond crossed the Cócopa Mountains south of Signal Mountain.[1] As soon as the range was passed the large body of water now called Lake Maquata was discovered. Garcés commented on it at length, but gave no hint that he had seen it before. Three days later [2] the expedition reached Pozos de Santa Rosa de

[1] March 5. [2] March 8.

las Laxas.[1] This is our clue to Garcés's "farthest north," for when he arrived there in 1774 he wrote in his diary: "On my last journey, on September 29, I reached a point about three leagues east of this place." The water called Maqueque, which Garcés tried to reach beyond the Sierra, was doubtless the modern Lake Maquata, which seems to preserve the very name it had then.

The confusion of Coues over the whole matter may be illustrated at this point. He writes: "On the 28th Garcés appears to have been near the mouth of the (Colorado) River, or at any rate near tidewater" for at dawn next day he discovered the Sierra Madre, and saw "a very large gap or opening in the mountains, which he thought was the entrance of the Rio Colorado into the sea." This was the day, it will be remembered, when Garcés discovered the foot of the San Jacintos and San Felipe Pass, a fact which is easily proved by the diaries of 1774 taken together with that of 1771.

Having already consumed my allotted space, I must hasten over the return journey of Father Garcés. After making two more attempts to reach the Maqueques, on October 3 he turned northeast to Santa Olalla, north to Santa Rosa and the sand dunes, thence east and northeast to the Yumas at San Pablo. San Pablo, Santa Olalla, and Santa Rosa are all points passed through by the Anza expedition in 1774, and their approximate location is well established.[2]

At Los Muertos, above San Pablo, he learned that a state of war existed between the Yumas and the Gila tribes, and he decided in consequence to make his way back to Sonóita by way of the lower Colorado. Descending the river on the 12th, he crossed it on the 13th, and spent the day making preparations to pass the horrible desert. On the 14th he continued south, then turned southeast to the sand dunes. On the 17th he struck his outward trail at the foot of the Gila Range. In crossing the Yuma desert by way of the sand dunes he had accomplished a feat which Kino had three times tried in vain.

The significance of this arduous journey, made by a lone man

[1] Wells of Santa Rosa of the flat rocks, which have been identified by Eldredge as Yuba Springs, four miles north of the boundary line.
[2] See Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, I, Ch. IV.

with a single horse, is greater than would appear from a glance at the map. By the time Garcés got back to Caborca he estimated that he had travelled 300 leagues, or 780 miles, not counting the windings. He had crossed the Yuma desert in two places, a feat never before recorded.[1] He had opened a new trail from the head of tidewater to upper California; on his return he had crossed the terrible Colorado desert for a distance of nearly a hundred miles.

The relation of Garcés's undertaking to the Anza expedition and to the opening of an overland route from Sonora to Los Angeles is especially important. In 1769, according to Palou, Anza had offered to undertake the task, but was not encouraged. But the return of Garcés brought the matter to a head. After talking with Garcés, on May 2, 1772, Anza renewed his proposal, using as his principal argument the information which Garcés had acquired. He emphasized the fact (1) that the Indians where Garcés had been, told of white men not far beyond, and whom they had seen; (2) that beyond the Colorado River Garcés had discovered a Sierra Madre, hitherto unseen from the east, but which must be that beyond which was San Diego; (3) that the desert was much narrower than had been supposed, and the difficulties from lack of water therefore much less. "In view of this," he continued, "this Reverend Father and I concluded that the distance to Monte Rey is not so enormous as used to be estimated, and that it will not be impossible to compass it." He closed by requesting that if the plan should be approved Father Garcés might be permitted to go with him.

The viceroy was greatly interested, and he asked Garcés to make a special report and send his diaries. He did so, and they had much to do with securing favor for the project. Approval was given, and, as is well known, early in 1774 Anza made the memorable expedition which opened a route from Sonora to San Gabriel Mission, thence over Portolá's trail to Monterey. Garcés came with Anza as guide, and it is significant that from the foot of the Gila range to the foot of the San Jacintos — all the way across the two terrible deserts — Anza followed approximately the trail which had been made known to white men by the intrepid missionary of San Xavier del Bac.

[1] See note on p. 320.

From the standpoint of mere pathfinding, between San Xavier and Los Angeles, by Anza's route, it would be fair to say that Kino made known the way from San Xavier (near Tucson) to the foot of the Gila range; Garcés across the Yuma and Colorado deserts; and Anza over the California mountains. Of all these stretches the most difficult by far was the Colorado desert.

Such, in brief, are the history and the significance of the early explorations of Father Garcés. The last and greatest one has been made well known by Coues.

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN MEXICO, 1822–26

WILLIAM R. MANNING

A FEW weeks after the beginning of J. Q. Adams's administration instructions were given to Joel R. Poinsett, who was going as the first United States Minister to Mexico. In those instructions Clay, the Secretary of State, called Poinsett's especial attention to the declaration in the president's message of sixteen months earlier, which came to be known subsequently as the Monroe Doctrine. He assumed that the government of Mexico would be grateful to the United States for that declaration of principles and for the early recognition of Mexican independence. But when Poinsett reached his post in May, 1825, much to his surprise he found Mexican officials decidedly cool in their attitude toward his country and himself. Toward the British representative, on the contrary, they were enthusiastically cordial. Poinsett felt it necessary to counteract this British influence and, if possible, replace it by United States influence. The purpose of this paper is to show how England acquired this dominant influence.[1]

In 1822, as soon as Canning took control of the British foreign office, he began seriously to consider the question whether England should recognize the new Spanish-American states. To Wellington, who was sent to represent England at the Congress of Verona, Canning wrote on September 27, 1822, "that he must under no circumstances, pledge his government against recognition, and instructed him to hint that England might be compelled to recognize the colonies before Parliament met." [2] On December 21

[1] This is a portion of a chapter of a book shortly to be issued by the Johns Hopkins University Press entitled *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico* belonging to the series of Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History.

[2] Temperley, *Life of Canning*, p. 175, citing a foreign office manuscript. Rives,

of the same year he instructed Mackie, whom he was despatching on a special mission to Mexico, to acquire information concerning the probable stability of the Iturbide government, the attitude toward Spain, and the disposition toward British commerce. Mackie was authorized to declare the friendly disposition toward Mexico and the determination of England to maintain a scrupulous neutrality between Spain and her late colonies so long as the contest between them should continue. He was to learn whether Mexico would be favorable toward a mediation by Great Britain between the new government and the mother country.[1]

Mackie reached Mexico about the middle of 1823, a few months after the overthrow of Iturbide. On July 27 the new provisional government appointed General Victoria to confer with the British agent. Four conferences were held within the next month between them.[2] This was looked upon by the Mexicans at the time, and afterward continually alluded to, as the beginning of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Great Britain. On Mackie's return to England, in November, he bore to Migoni (who was already in England attempting to raise a loan for his government) a commission as Mexico's confidential diplomatic agent in London.[3] It will be noticed that the instructions were given to Mackie only a few months after the message of the President of the United States and the resolution of Congress had declared for recognition. Mackie's arrival in Mexico was almost two years before Poinsett's. The fact that Mackie was only a confidential agent while Poinsett was a minister plenipotentiary

United States and Mexico, 1821–1848, vol. 1, pp. 46–48, makes the relations between England and Mexico from 1822 to 1825 seem very unimportant.

[1] Canning to Mackie, December 21, 1822, *Mexico, Tratados y Convenciones*, vol. 2, p. 301; Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 204.

[2] *Mexico, Tratados y Convenciones*, vol. 2, pp. 301–307, gives Victoria's instructions dated 27 de julio de 1823 and the minutes of the four conferences held 31 de julio, 6 de agosto, 7 de agosto, 19 de agosto de 1823. *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 2, pp. 95–132 gives these, and several communications between Victoria and his government concerning the conferences.

[3] See Zavala, *Ensayo Histórico*, vol. 1, p. 198, which says: "Este fue el principio de las relaciones diplomaticas entre ambas naciones." On page 253 he compares the English manner of recognizing Mexico with that of the United States and comments on the difference. On page 265 he tells of the commission which Mackie bore to Migoni. *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 2, pp. 150–206, gives the correspondence between Migoni and his government from his appointment, August 2, 1823, till after his displacement by Michelena nearly a year later. Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 218, tells of Mackie's exceeding his instructions by interfering to prevent Mexico from concluding a commercial treaty with Spain which he thought was nearing completion and considered inimical to the policy and commerce of the British Empire.

made little difference to the Mexican mind. He was a representative of the British government.

When, in spite of England's protest, the other European powers intervened in 1823 to restore absolute government in Spain, Canning advanced a step farther in his approach toward opening friendly relations with the new states. It was the proposal of the reactionary powers to hold a conference on Spanish-American affairs that furnished the occasion for Canning to make to Rush, the United States minister in London, the well-known proposals for a joint declaration by England and the United States of their policy with reference to the new governments and the relation of those governments to the mother country. Canning was not yet prepared formally to recognize the independence of the new states, and declined to do so when Rush made this a necessary condition for his taking the responsibility of agreeing to the joint declaration in the name of his government.[1]

But shortly afterward, on October 9, 1823, in his conference with the French minister, Polignac, Canning made the declaration, also well-known, "That the British government were of the opinion that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain must be utterly hopeless; . . . [and] that the junction of any foreign power in an enterprize of Spain against the colonies . . . [would be considered] a motive for recognizing the latter without delay." [2]

On the day following that on which the above declaration was made, Canning instructed a commission, composed of Hervey, O'Gorman, and Ward, to go to Mexico and, if certain prescribed conditions should be found to exist there, invite that government to send a representative to England to arrange for the interchange of diplomatic missions. They were to make it clear "that so far is Great Britain from looking to any more intimate connection with any of the late Spanish provinces than that of friendly political and commercial intercourse, that His Majesty could not be induced, by any consideration to enter into any

[1] For Canning's proposals see Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. 6, pp. 386–392; and Chadwick, *United States and Spain, Diplomacy*, pp. 187–189; or any careful study of the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine.

[2] *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 11, pp. 49–51; Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 206.

engagement which might be considered as bringing them under his dominion. Neither, on the other hand, would His Majesty consent to see them (in the event of their final separation from Spain) brought under the dominion of any other power." [1] If a disposition should be found to establish a monarchical government under a Spanish prince the commissioners were to encourage it; but they were "not to attempt to prescribe to the Mexican authorities this, or any particular course of action." [2]

This pledge that England would not take any of the former Spanish colonies for herself nor consent to any other power's taking them was of immense value to Mexico. It was far more positive than the Monroe declaration and was clearly disinterested, which that was not. It should be noticed that these instructions were given some two months before President Monroe's message was published. Not only was this more positive and disinterested, but the power and prestige of England left much less doubt of her ability to afford the protection thus pledged. This of course was not a public document; but its content was made known to the Mexican government.

In the same month of October, 1823, Torrens wrote that the government at Washington was being roused from its apathy by reports of England's opening relations with Mexico which might be to the disadvantage of the United States.[3] It was only a few days before Torrens wrote this letter that President Monroe had received Rush's dispatches telling of the proposals by Canning for the joint declaration by England and the United States, mentioned above, and had asked the advice of Jefferson and Madison to guide him and his cabinet in replying to the English proposals. In spite of the fact that the two ex-presidents and most of the

[1] Quoted by Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 210, citing a Foreign Office manuscript. Migoni to Alamán, 9 de octubre de 1823, *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 2, p. 168, told of the appointment of this commission and its preparation for departure.

[2] Further instruction to Mexican Commissioners, October 10, 1823, Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 211–213, citing Foreign Office manuscript.

[3] Torrens to Secretario, Filadelfia, 21 de octubre de 1823, *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 2, p. 45: "En la de 18 hai noticias por la vía de la Habana, que corroboran las del 14; y además lo que se dice de un agente que regresaba á Londres con ideas favorables respecto á la consolidación de nuestro Gobierno, y que suponían haber concluído una negociación con México, hará que este Gobierno salga de la apatía y procure estrechar relaciones con nosotros, por temor de que los ingleses se adelanten y concluyan un tratado que les quite algunas ventajas en el comercio."

cabinet favored meeting the English advances and joining in the declaration, even at the expense of abandoning their hope of acquiring Cuba, Adams's determined stand for independent action prevailed. Late in November he wrote to Rush at length concerning Canning's proposals and concluded by declaring: "We believe, however, that for the most effectual accomplishment of the object, common to both governments, a perfect understanding with regard to it being established between them, it will be most advisable that they should act separately." [1] A few days later, in keeping with the determination of Adams, the so-called Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed to the world in the President's message to Congress.

Thus while England was privately renouncing any selfish intentions and generously pledging to Mexico (and other Spanish-American states) her protection against any power except Spain, the United States was refusing to join with England in publicly proclaiming similar principles. Furthermore the reason that Adams refrained from joining in the self-denying declaration was that he did not want to pledge the United States against acquiring Spanish-American territory if the opportunity should later present itself. The motives underlying the policy of the United States could not have been certainly known in Mexico; but it was strongly suspected at the time that they were selfish; and subsequent events unfortunately tended to confirm the suspicion. It is not improbable that the Mexican officials were privately informed of Canning's offer to join the United States in the declaration of principles and of Adams's refusal to accede to the proposal. In view of Torrens's suggestion only a few weeks before that England's advances toward Mexico were rousing the Washington government from its apathy, it is quite possible that the Mexican officials looked upon the declarations of Monroe's message as a result of England's friendship, and as an effort on the part of the United States to snatch from England some of the benefits of that friendship.

[1] Adams to Rush, November 29, 1823, Ms., Department of State, Instructions, vol. 10, p. 120. Another letter from Adams to Rush written the same day contains virtually the same declaration as the so-called Monroe Doctrine. *Ibid.*, p. 125. Adams to James Brown, minister to Paris, December 23, 1823, *ibid.*, p. 150, instructs the latter to be guided by the President's message to Congress at the begin-

The British commission consisting of Hervey, O'Gorman, and Ward, whom Canning had instructed on October 10, 1823, reached Mexico just before the end of the year.[1] The commissioners were too enthusiastic in their efforts to produce a favorable impression in Mexico concerning the attitude of England, and in their attempt to convince Canning that the Mexican government was stable. After only about three weeks they despatched a very favorable report, in spite of the fact that the serious Lobato revolt was then in progress. About a week later Hervey guaranteed a loan to carry the Mexican government over the crisis. When the report reached London, Canning rebuked the commission for sending it "not only 'before you had allowed yourselves time to form a mature judgment,' but at 'a moment of public disturbance.'" And when he learned of the loan he recalled Hervey for guaranteeing it. Morier, who was sent to supersede Hervey as head of the commission, was told "'That you are sent to ascertain the fact of Mexican independence, not actively to promote it; and to form and report an opinion of the stability of the government, not to prescribe its form or attempt to influence its councils.'" [2]

But these rebukes were unknown to the Mexican people; and the ultra-favorable acts of the commissioners were accepted as expressive of the sentiments of the British government. The gratitude of the Mexicans for the support which they felt they were receiving from England is shown by the fact that late in April of 1824 the question was considered by the executive and Congress whether the approaching birthday of the king of England should be publicly celebrated. It was decided that there should be no official demonstration on the occasion.[3]

In response to the invitation which the British commission was authorized to extend, Michelena was appointed, on March 2, 1824, Mexican minister to London; and Rocafuerte, a native of Quito

ning of the session in all of his communications with the French court concerning Spain and the Spanish American countries.

[1] Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 219; Bocanegra, *Memorias*, vol. 1, p. 288; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. 5, p. 50; Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 5, p. 782.

[2] Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 219, citing Foreign Office manuscripts; Canning to Hervey, April 23, 1824; same to same, July 20, 1824; and Canning to Morier, July 30, 1824.

[3] Secretario de Relaciones al Congreso, 21 de abril de 1824, Ms., Relaciones Exteriores.

but a citizen of Mexico, accompanied him as interpreter and secretary.[1] On May 1, 1824, they left Tampico, and they landed at Portsmouth on June 24. Iturbide had just left on his return to Mexico. The ex-emperor's act had shaken confidence and would retard England's recognition of Mexico, Michelena reported; but he said he would do all he could to counteract the unfavorable impression. He reported that public opinion was decidedly in favor of early recognition; and the government seemed to agree. On June 25 he addressed a note to Canning saying that as a result of the mission of Mr. Hervey the Mexican government had sent him to England in the same capacity in which Mr. Hervey had gone to Mexico; and he asked that a day be appointed on which he might present his credentials.[2] Within less than a week Canning had received him with great friendliness, though without formally recognizing his government.[3]

Through the latter half of the year 1824 the Mexican representative had several conferences with Canning at which the most important matter discussed was the probability of Spain's accepting the mediation of England between herself and her former colonies, which mediation had been accepted by Mexico and had been urged upon Spain for many months but in vain. Formal recognition was delayed by England in the vain hope that Spain might be induced first to recognize her former colonies in return for special favors.[4]

Finally Canning's patience was exhausted by Spain's repeated delays, and at the very end of the year 1824 he wrote to inform the Spanish government of his resolution to recognize the new states.[5] On January 3, 1825, he announced his determination to

[1] *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, pp. 3–6, gives Michelena's credentials and instructions, dated March 2, 1824. For brief allusions to this mission see Bocanegra, *Memorias*, vol. 1, 296; Zavala, *Ensayo Histórico*, vol. 1, p. 302; Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 5, p. 782; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. 5, p. 51. La Llave had been appointed and resigned. See *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 2, pp. 257–283.

[2] Michelena to Secretario, Londres, 26 de junio de 1824, enclosing Michelena to Canning, 25 de junio de 1824, Mss., Relaciones Exteriores; *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, pp. 18, 25.

[3] Canning to Michelena, Londres, 26 de junio de 1824, Michelena to Secretario, 27 de junio de 1824, and same to same, 3 de julio de 1824, Mss., Relaciones Exteriores; *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, pp. 24, 25, 27.

[4] Numerous despatches between Michelena and the Mexican government in Mss., Relaciones Exteriores; also in *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, pp. 31–138.

[5] Temperley, Life of Canning, p. 187; Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 243, citing Foreign Office manuscript. Michelena to Secretario, 30 de diciembre de 1824, *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, p. 139, announced with triumph England's recognition: "El Ser Supremo que dirige la suerte de las

the diplomatic corps in London. On the same day he sent instructions to Morier and Ward to guide them in negotiating a treaty with Mexico. This act constituted a recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the new government.[1]

The Spanish government protested vigorously but without avail.[2] Equally futile were the remonstrances of the London representatives of the other European powers.[3] England's efforts to induce Spain to admit British mediation continued even after the new states were recognized. During the first half of 1825 several notes passed and several conferences were held between the British foreign office and the Mexican agents. But each time the report was that no progress had been made and that there was little prospect that Spain would ever consent to treat with her former colonies.[4]

Morier who had been appointed to supersede Hervey and had received his instructions from Canning late in July, 1824,[5] had found an enthusiastic welcome awaiting him. On November 17, 1824, the Mexican government had reported to its agent in London that Morier had reached Jalapa, and that the proper steps

naciones, ha visto el mérito y sacrificios de la nuestra; los apreció y decédio en nuestra favor la gran causa. Todo está acabado; la Inglaterra reconoce nuestra Independencia."

[1] Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 220, 224, citing Foreign Office manuscripts; Bocanegra, *Memorias*, vol. 1, p. 376; Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 5, p. 815; Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 11, p. 608. The last two give January 1 as the date of Canning's announcement to the diplomatic corps.

[2] Canning to Los Ríos, 25 de marzo de 1825, Mss., Relaciones Exteriores. This is a long memorial, of which the transcript covers nine typewritten pages, replying to an official note of Zea, the Spanish foreign minister, of January 21, 1825, protesting against English recognition. It reviews the relations between England and Spain since the beginning of the French revolution, and especially since 1809, refuting Zea's charges that England was violating treaties and national rights in recognizing the American states. Canning justifies England's conduct. There is an abstract of the Zea and Canning notes enclosed with Poinsett to Clay, September 25, 1825, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1. The memorial of Canning is in *Annual Register*, vol. 67, part 2, p. 51. See also Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 244–247.

[3] Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 247–250.

[4] Michelena to Secretario, Londres, 6 de febrero de 1825; same to same, 6 de marzo de 1825, enclosing a memorandum of a conference between Michelena and Planta, Canning's secretary, of 4 de marzo de 1825; Canning to Michelena and Rocafuerte, May 20, 1825, inviting them to a conference; Memorandum of the conference of Michelena and Rocafuerte with Canning and Planta, 21 de mayo de 1825; Mss., Relaciones Exteriores; and same in *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, pp. 154, 160, 169, 180, 182.

Shortly after this, Michelena received instructions to leave Rocafuerte as *chargé* in London and return home to represent his government in the approaching Congress at Panama. [Secretario] to Michelena, Mexico, 2 de abril de 1825. Ms., Relaciones Exteriores; *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, vol. 3, p. 176.

[5] Canning to Morier, July 30, 1824, Paxson, *Independence of the South American Republics*, p. 220, citing Foreign Office manuscript.

had been taken to receive him with fitting splendor.[1] Early in January, 1825, the minister for foreign relations, Lucas Alamán, in his report to the Mexican Congress on foreign affairs dwelt on the value to Mexico of England's friendship. Concerning the danger of European intervention in 1823, he said: "England, in reply to the invitation of the minister of King Ferdinand, declined attending the proposed congress; and, in papers presented by the English Ministry to the Parliament, which were published, she frankly disclosed the liberal principles which were to guide her conduct. Without refusing to recognize our independence, England desired that Spain should first take the important step, indicating, at the same time, that she would not long wait the tardy policy of the Cabinet of Madrid; and she frankly declared that she could not suffer any power or league of powers, to interfere with an armed force as the auxiliary of Spain, in the questions pending between her and her colonies. . . . A minister plenipotentiary was appointed to the government of His Britannic Majesty so soon as its friendly dispositions were known; . . . The diplomatic agents from that government have been received and regarded with the consideration due to a nation which was the first among those of Europe to open relations of friendship and good correspondence with the republic." [2]

When Canning's instructions of January 3, 1825, reached Morier and Ward, they at once entered upon negotiations which resulted in a treaty signed on April 6. In accord with the friendly

[1] [Secretario] to Michelena, 17 de noviembre de 1824, Ms., Relaciones Exteriores, says: "El S^{or} Morier está ya en Jalapa y el Govierno ha tomado ya las medidas convenientes p^{a} proporcionarle q^{to} pueda necesitar y recibirlo con el decoro y esplendor q^{e} corresponde. El S^{or} Harbey [Hervey] saldrá de aqui para esa corte dentro de 6 á 8 dias."

[2] *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 12, pp. 984, 985. Some light is cast on Alamán's notion of the relative value to Mexico of the friendship of England and of the United States by noticing the attention which he gives to each in this report. Not more than half as much space is devoted to the latter as to the former; and there is a marked difference in the enthusiasm. Just following the statement concerning England's declaration against the interference of any power or league of powers to assist Spain against her colonies, he says: "The determination of the President of the United States of America, announced in his message to the last Congress, was of a similar character." And further on he says: "The friendship that has subsisted with the United States of America, since the declaration of independence, has not been interrupted. That government has appointed a minister plenipotentiary to reside near this republic; and the delay of his arrival has had no connection with [effect upon?] the friendly relations that unite the two states. Don Pablo Obregon has been sent by this republic to that government with a similar rank, and, according to official communication, he has been received and recognized by the President at Washington."

attitude hitherto maintained by the British commissioners, this treaty included provisions decidedly favorable to Mexico. Speaking of the privileges therein provided for Mexican shipping interests, the Mexican foreign office declared to its agent in London that a thousand advantages had been gained.[1] It was so favorable to Mexico, indeed, and so at variance with the practices of England that it could not be accepted. "It is not to be expected," wrote Canning with exasperation as he rejected the whole treaty and ordered the negotiation of a new one, "that we will abandon 'for the sake of this new connexion, principles which we never have conceded, in our intercourse with other states, whether of the old world or the new, either to considerations of friendship, or to menaces of hostility.'" [2] It was late in the year before news of Canning's rejection of the treaty reached Mexico.

Thus it is seen that during the first few months of Poinsett's stay in Mexico the popularity of England in that country was at the flood tide, and Mexican gratitude for England's friendship was unbounded. It is not at all strange that President Victoria should have valued England's friendship more highly than that of the United States, or that his address on the occasion of the formal reception of the British *chargé* should have been more enthusiastic than his reply to Poinsett's speech on the following day. This would have been but natural even if the United States had been officially represented at the Mexican capital as early and as continuously as England had been.

Not only was British influence in Mexico actually dominant

[1] [Secretario] to Rocafuerte, 7 de junio de 1825, Ms., Relaciones Exteriores. The statement is as follows: "un articulo espreso del tratado, en el que se lograron mil ventajas que probablemente no hubieran podido conseguirse por una declaracion espontanea de esa Gobº."

For the text of the treaty both in Spanish and English, see *Mexico, Tratados y Convenciones*, vol. 2, pp. 307–321. For brief comments on it, see Bocanegra, *Memorias*, vol. 1, p. 377; Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 5, p. 815; Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 11, p. 608; Zavala, *Ensayo Histórico*, vol. 1, pp. 321–330; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. 5, p. 51.

In spite of the recommendation to Congress that the treaty should be kept secret it had been published. The responsibility for its publication, it was said, could not be located. Rocafuerte in London was notified of this so that he might be able to explain to the English government that the publication could not be prevented. Secretario to Rocafuerte, 25 de mayo de 1825, Ms., Relaciones Exteriores. It was later charged that the writer of this letter, Alamán, the negotiator of the treaty, was himself responsible for the publication. If so, this letter was intended merely for a blind.

[2] Paxson, *Independence of the Spanish American Republics*, p. 220, quoting from Canning to Ward, September 9, 1825, and citing Foreign Office manuscripts.

when Poinsett arrived, but Canning was consciously and intentionally exerting it to counteract that of the United States. A memorandum which was considered by a cabinet meeting in December, 1824, and which seems to have been inspired by Canning, makes this certain (if the document can be accepted as genuine, which seems probable). This date, it will be noticed, was only a few days before the policy of British recognition was announced. Speaking of two motives for recognizing Mexico and Colombia, of which one was the investment there of English capital, the memorandum continues: "The other and perhaps still more powerful motive is my apprehension of the ambition and the ascendancy of the U[nited] S[tates] of Am[erica]: It is obviously the policy of that Gov[ernmen]t to connect itself with all the powers of America in a general Transatlantic League, of which it would have the sole direction. I need only say how inconvenient such an ascendancy may be in time of peace, and how formidable in case of war.

"I believe we now have the opportunity (but it may not last long) of opposing a powerful barrier to the influence of the U[nited] S[tates] by an amicable connection with Mexico, which from its position must be either subservient to or jealous of the U[nited] S[tates]. In point of population and resources it is at least equal to all the rest of the Spanish colonies; and may naturally expect to take the lead in its connections with the powers of Europe. I by no means think it at present necessary to go beyond the relations of amity and commercial intercourse; but if we hesitate much longer, and especially if our commercial treaty [July 23, 1824] with Buenos Ayres should not take effect, all the new states will be led to conclude that we regret their friendship upon principle, as of a dangerous and revolutionary character, and will be driven to throw themselves under the protection of the U[nited] S[tates], as the only means of security." [1]

[1] Temperley, "Later American Policy of George Canning," in *American Historical Review*, vol. 11, p. 781, citing British Museum manuscripts. He says of this, on page 780, "It is the memorandum 'which enabled us to carry Colombia too [as well as Mexico] at the Cabinet,'" and cities Canning to Granville; December 17, 1824.

Temperley explains, page 779, "The object of the present article is to show that the later American policy of George Canning was intended to defeat certain claims and pretensions of the Monroe Doctrine. These were the principles which forbade future colonization in America to European powers, and the principle which tended to make America a separate world from Europe."

After the policy of recognition had been announced and the instructions for negotiating the treaties had been despatched, Canning declared in a letter of January 8, 1825, "The thing is done. . . . The Yankees will shout in triumph; but it is they who lose most by our decision. The great danger of the time — a danger which the policy of the European system would have fostered, was a division of the World into European and American, Republican and Monarchical; a league of worn-out Gov[ernmen]ts, on the one hand, and of youthful and stirring nations, with the U[nited] States at their head, on the other. *We* slip in between; and plant ourselves in Mexico. The Un[ited] States have gotten the start of us in vain; and we link once more America to Europe. Six months more — and the mischief would have been done." [1]

Canning's opposition to the United States was shown not only in his Mexican policy, but also in his dealings with the assembled representatives of the American states at Panama in 1826. In instructing the representative whom England had been invited to send to that congress, Canning said: "You will understand that to a league among the states, lately colonies of Spain, limited to objects growing out of their common relations to Spain, H[is] M[ajesty's] Gov[ernmen]t would not object. But any project for putting the U[nited] S[tates] of North America at the head of an American Confederacy, as against Europe, would be highly displeasing to your Gov[ernmen]t. It would be felt as an ill return for the service which has been rendered to those states, and the dangers which have been averted from them, by the countenance and friendship, and public declarations of Great Britain; and it would too, probably at no very distant period, endanger the peace both of America and Europe." [2]

Although Poinsett could not have known in 1825 exactly what England's policy was, nor the steps whereby she had gained a dominant influence in Mexico, yet he saw that the influence existed and felt that it was inimical to the United States. He believed that it was even more inimical to the interests of Mexico and of all free governments in America.

[1] Temperley, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 11, p. 781, note, citing two places where the letter was already printed.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 787, citing Public Record Office manuscripts.

In Poinsett's mind he early divided all Mexicans into two classes, those friendly to the American system championed by the United States, and those friendly to the European system championed by England. In a cipher paragraph of a letter to Clay of August 5, 1825, he said that the president of Mexico was a weak man and was controlled by his ministers, especially the secretary of state and secretary of the treasury. The former (Alamán), he declared, was a man of good natural talents and better educated than is common among men of his class in Mexico. He was director of an English mining company and consequently favored British interests. The latter (Esteva), he added, was a man of tolerable ability but without education. He was attached to England because English men of means loaned the government money to help him out of his official difficulties. From this, English influence had profited enormously. These opinions, he said, were not the result of the treatment he had received, for that had been only the most friendly. On the other hand, he added: "There is an American party in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, in point of talents much the strongest; but the government have an ascendency over both bodies." [1]

On September 24, 1825, Clay replied to Poinsett's despatch of June 4, that the prevalence of British influence in Mexico was to be regretted; but that it could hardly be made the subject of formal complaint if it were merely the effect of British power and British capital fairly exerted, and if not rewarded by favors to British commerce or British subjects to the prejudice of Americans. But, he added, against any partiality or preference to any foreign nation to the disadvantage of the United States Poinsett was to remonstrate.[2]

Before this cautious advice could reach Mexico a sort of "palace revolution" had occurred. The strongest British sympathizers had left the cabinet and the members who remained, as well as President Victoria, were entirely favorable to the United States. Poinsett was in high favor.

[1] Poinsett to Clay, August 5, 1825, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1. The brief paragraph quoted above telling of the American party appears in the copy of the letter in the volume of Duplicate Despatches from Poinsett but not in the regular volume.

[2] Clay to Poinsett, September 24, 1825, Ms., Department of State, Instructions, vol. 10, p. 225.

In his long cipher despatch to Clay, Poinsett practically claimed to have brought about this change in the government through the group of men which he alluded to as an American party.[1] Its purpose was to resist the centralizing tendency and preserve and perpetuate the federal form of government, to which Poinsett was so strongly attached and which he believed was the only hope for preserving free government in Mexico. Four years later in referring to his part in effecting this peaceable political revolution, Poinsett explained that the cordiality of the democratic party, his own principles, and the hostility of the aristocratic party all tended to cause him to seek his associates among the popular party. He believed that England was making efforts to obtain a dominant influence in Mexico as she had in Portugal. He believed too that this would be detrimental to the interests of the United States. Learning that the democratic party intended to effect a revolution by force to get control, he advised them to use the more moderate measures of organization, use of the franchise, and establishment of their own press. They took his advice and were eminently successful.[2]

Poinsett declared that he would have kept aloof from such men, but he had found it necessary to form a party out of such elements as the country afforded, or leave the English complete masters of the field. The friends of the latter country were alarmed, he said, and could not conceal their mortification or fears. Ward, he continued, had sent a messenger to Canning with most exaggerated accounts of Poinett's influence. The latter added, "His want of tact and overwrought exertions may contribute to establish that influence he so much dreads."

The displacement of English sympathizers in the Mexican ministry by what Poinsett called an American party had nothing to do with England's rejection of the Mexican treaty. The conferences at which Canning declared the treaty inadmissible occurred late in July of 1825; and the change in the Mexican ministry did not take place until late in September. It is probable that news of the rejection of the treaty reached Mexico about

[1] Poinsett to Clay, October 12, 1825, all in cipher, covering twelve pages, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1.

[2] Poinsett to Secretary of State, March 10, 1829, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 4.

the time of the cabinet upheaval; but this is not certain.[1] If it did, it doubtless had much to do with the sudden change from sympathy with England to sympathy with United States.

The messengers from Mexico bearing the treaty had reached London July 16. On July 27 at a conference which Rocafuerte had with Canning and two other British officials the treaty was discussed at length. At the close of the conference Canning declared that the seventh and eighth articles would have to be radically changed, or the treaty would have to be rejected. Rocafuerte did not have sufficient authority to make the necessary changes. The seventh provided that a ship should be considered Mexican if two thirds of its crew had been admitted into the service with the knowledge of the government. There was no requirement concerning citizenship. Article eight embodied the "flag shall cover the goods" principle which England had never admitted in her relations with any nation. Canning declared that, in case of war between England and the United States (or any other power), by combining the privileges conceded to Mexico in the two articles in question, all enemy property could be carried in what were really enemy ships but which had been transformed in a night into Mexican ships. This he declared would be too great an advantage for England's enemies. A clause stipulating that merchant vessels of either nation should under no circumstances be embargoed in ports of the other, without the payment of full indemnity, was also strenuously resisted.[2]

Morier, who with Ward had negotiated the treaty that was rejected, was sent back to Mexico with strict instructions to negotiate a new treaty which should not contain the objectionable

[1] Rocafuerte to Secretario, 21 de julio de 1825, announcing the arrival at London of the messengers with the treaty bears a marginal note indicating that a reply to it was sent 29 de septiembre. There is nothing to indicate now long it had been in the office before the reply was sent. Neither is there anything to indicate the date of the receipt at Mexico of Rocafuerte to Secretario, 2 de agosto de 1825, telling of the rejection of the treaty. But it was probably late in September or early in October. Mss., Relaciones Exteriores.

Alamán's resignation was accepted on September 27. The reorganization of the cabinet in favor of the American party took place between this and October 12, the date of Poinsett's long cipher despatch telling about it. Mss., Relaciones Exteriores.

[2] "Memorandum de una conferencia tenida en Londres el 27 de julio de 1825 entre los señores Ministros el Honorable S^{or} Jorge Canning, Ministro de Relaciones, el Señor Planta 1er secretario del Ministro de Relaciones, el Huskisson, Ministro de la camara de comercio; y Don Vicente Rocafuerte." Ms., Relaciones Exteriores.

clauses. He reached Mexico about the end of the year, 1825.[1] Until about the middle of December Poinsett seems not to have learned of the rejection of the treaty in England.[2]

Neither England's rejection of the treaty nor the Mexican cabinet upheaval changed entirely the feeling of gratitude to England for the stand which that power had taken in supporting the interests of Mexico (and other new Spanish American States) against the projects of Spain and the other reactionary European powers. On the first of January, 1826, President Victoria, in his speech at the opening of Congress, declared that the month of January of the year just closed was worthy of eternal commemoration because it was then that Great Britain had announced to the powers her intentions to recognize and enter into relations with the new American states, and thereby defeated the designs of the continental powers. He said: "Thus has been revealed the secret of their ulterior intentions, and they have been forced to confess that they renounced for the future all armed intervention in subjects relating to the insurgent Americans." He dwelt on the value to Mexico of this generous act of Great Britain, which was the more flattering because it met with the general approbation of the English nation. He then mentioned the exchange of diplomatic agents between Mexico and England and the arrival, two weeks earlier, of Morier who came to revise the treaty.[3]

But to the great satisfaction of Poinsett, Victoria, after finishing his review of relations with European governments, continued: "With respect to the nations of the happy hemisphere of Columbus, justice, and gratitude compel us to mention, before all others, the most ancient state of America, and the first of the civilized world which solemnly proclaimed our rights, after having preceded us in the heroic resolution of shaking off a dependence on the mother

[1] Poinsett to Clay, January 4, 1826, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1.

[2] Poinsett to Clay, December 16, 1825, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1.

[3] Victoria's message to Congress, January 1, 1825, enclosed with Poinsett to Clay, January 4, 1826, cited in note 1, above; also *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 13, p. 1067. *Ibid.*, 1104 is a memorial of the Secretario de Relaciones to the Congress, sometime in the month of January. It gives a brief account of relations with England during 1825. The same was enclosed with Poinsett to Clay, February 18, 1826, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1.

country. The United States of the North, models of political virtue and moral rectitude, have advanced under the system of a federative republic, which, having been adopted amongst us, by the most spontaneous act on record, exalts us to a level with the country of Washington, and establishes the most intimate union between the neighboring countries. A plenipotentiary from that nation accredited to our government is commissioned to conclude treaties which, without delay, shall be laid before your chambers. The most urgent point is the definitive regulation of the limits between the two nations; and the government is preparing surveys which will facilitate the conclusion of the negotiation on the unalterable bases of liberality and good faith." [1] This virtually announced the supremacy of the influence favorable to the United States and also the government's change from the centralist to the federalist party. Had Poinsett dictated this portion of the message, as he might have done if he had wielded the influence which his enemies and those of the government suspected, he could hardly have worded it in more flattering terms. He could not now complain, as he had done seven months earlier, that Victoria's allusions to England were more enthusiastic than to the United States.

The new negotiations for the treaty with England were conducted in profound secrecy, even the clerks of the foreign office not being permitted to copy or translate the protocols. The negotiations had not gone very far, however, till it became evident that no treaty could be made in keeping with the strict instructions which Morier bore. Consequently in March of 1826, he abandoned the attempt and returned to London, having insisted that one of the secretaries of the Mexican cabinet accompany or follow him with full power to conclude a treaty in London.[2]

Camacho, the secretary for foreign relations, was chosen. Poinsett wrote to Clay that the Mexican Senate did not want a secretary to go out of the country, and at first refused to ratify the appointment. But, he said, the British *chargé* declared that no one but a secretary would be acceptable, and that by refusing

[1] *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 13, p. 1069.
[2] Poinsett to Clay, February 1, 1826, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1.

to ratify the nomination of Camacho, the Senate would occasion a rupture between the two powers — conduct which could only be imputed to the secret influence of those who sought to divide the old world from the new, in order that they might govern the latter; meaning of course the United States." Camacho's appointment was finally ratified.[1] He went to London; and just before the end of the year 1826 a treaty was concluded which omitted the provisions objectionable to England. In the middle of 1827 the ratifications were exchanged. The treaty was submitted to Congress and proclaimed to the nation on October 25, 1827.

[1] Poinsett to Clay, April 8, 1826, Ms., Department of State, Despatches from Mexico, vol. 1. For brief reviews of Camacho's mission and the treaty which he negotiated, see Zavala, *Ensayo Histórico*, vol. 1, p. 360; Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 11, p. 156; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. 5, p. 51.

[2] For the treaty both in English and Spanish, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 14, pp. 614–629. For the submission to Congress and proclamation, see *Colección de Ordenes y Decretos de la Soberana Junta y las Congresas*, vol. 4, p. 87.

THE REFORMS OF JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ IN NEW SPAIN

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY

CHARLES III of Spain, moved by dissatisfaction at the result of the Seven Years' War, needing money for prospective renewal of strife with England, and desirous of financing broad plans of reform for all his empire, sent to New Spain in 1765 its greatest and last visitor-general of *real hacienda* — the department of public finance — José de Gálvez. This man had risen from the obscurity of a shepherd boy to influence at court through the advantages of a legal education, a fortunate French marriage, and a secretaryship under Grimaldi, minister of state. Though Gálvez was third choice for the visitorial commission, he was able, by virtue of aggressive character and court influence, to put so effective a check upon official corruption and commerical rapacity in New Spain that he has been called the re-creator of the department of public finance. Much of this success was attained while Gálvez was, after returning from America, minister general of the Indies. The basis of success was laid during a six-year visitation, and it is to the activities of this period that present attention is chiefly directed.

Visitorial instructions were given to Gálvez by Julián Arriaga, minister of the Indies, which explain the character and purpose of the general visitation, and display in detail the colonial policy of Charles III. A résumé of these instructions is essential to an understanding of the activities of Gálvez in New Spain.

The prologue announces that the object of the visitation is to bring about increased revenues without imposing new taxes or altering established practice, to prevent abuses and eliminate superfluous expense in administering public finance. All public accounts were to be examined, and the actual funds located. Arrears due from customs farmers were to be demanded without

delay, and regulations to improve service for the future were to be drawn up and enforced. Full power to do these things was granted, the viceroy of the colony being enjoined to work harmoniously with the visitor to obtain the desired ends.

The first five articles concern the visitation of Vera Cruz, which was the "throat" of New Spain's European trade. Arriving there, Gálvez was to announce to the viceroy in Mexico his arrival. That officer was thereupon to "publish the visitation," that is, notify all officials concerned that they were to assist the visitor with all records and information needed, and place themselves at his service. As to actual inspection of commerce, there was a distinction in method to be observed. Cargoes of single vessels were dutiable at Vera Cruz, while *flota* cargoes were sent free of duty to Jalapa for the fair. In the first case, the general method of receiving the freight and collecting duties was to be investigated to see whether it effectively prevented smuggling. If not, means to that end were to be adopted. Suggested precautions were the branding of all goods, so that any unbranded might be seized as contraband; all inland shipments were to be accompanied by itemized vouchers, which were to be returned to the customs officers after delivery of goods. Customs guards were to be added if needed to prevent smuggling, and the practices of the officers in charge of the port were to be made to adhere rigorously to the legal requirements. Importations on the *flota* were to be checked up by the Cádiz bill of lading, and any excess over size and kind of shipments manifested by that instrument was to be confiscated. The visitor was to follow in person the *flota* freight to Jalapa. There he was to prevent evasion of duties during the fair, and to see that goods remaining at its close should be secured against clandestine removal without payment of duties. Any changes in existing procedure, necessary to protect the government's receipts, were to be suggested to the viceroy, upon whom devolved the duty of issuing appropriate orders.

Articles 6–28 inclusive deal with revenue conditions and regulations in the specific branches of public revenues throughout the viceroyalty. In brief, some forty sources of royal revenue, disregarding church and municipal taxes, and other special funds numbering also about forty, existed in New Spain. Chief among

the royal revenues were the mining, quicksilver, and coinage duties, the tribute, salt tax, playing card tax, the *almojarifazgo*, and the *alcabala*, or sales tax. Government collected revenue upon sales of non-judicial offices, dispensations, and legal blank paper. Office holders, the clergy, and the nobility paid annual dues for their distinctions. At the seaports the *armada* and *avería*, *muralla* and *portazgo* or *almirantazgo*, were collected, besides many fees for anchorage, lights, registration, and clearance papers. At every turn, grocers, butchers, farmers, merchants, indeed, all classes, were made sources of royal income, and when these sources did not suffice, frequent recourse was had to voluntary or forced loans or gifts.

The methods employed in collection of these duties were especially irksome. The *alcabala* alone, a tax on every article sold, even until its extinction, was a levy upon commerce which, if it had been collected according to the letter of the law, would have actually paralyzed commerce. Three modes of collecting revenue were in vogue: by revenue farmers, by districts and towns, and by *oficiales reales*, or treasury officials. Neither plan was ever universal or uniform. Each had its peculiar advantages and disadvantages. Large and certain revenues were most economically collected by crown officers. But these men grew important and domineering, and the king's vassals were oppressed. Uncertain revenues, in sparsely settled districts, were oftenest farmed out. Here, future prosperity was subordinated to the contractor's greed, though the crown was assured its revenues in advance. District or municipal collection engaged local officials in interests identical with those of the central government, but placing large sums in municipal treasuries led to frequent malversation.

In all cases practicable, Gálvez was instructed to put the revenues under administration. Elsewhere, contracts were to be investigated, and their considerations raised whenever possible, as at renewal. The official force of *real hacienda* was to be inspected, and superfluous employees were to be eliminated. Peculation or fraud was to be rigorously punished, after the usual secret investigation. Final decision of cases brought by the visitor for malfeasance was reserved to the Council of the Indies.

Articles 28–30 concern details as to assistants, mode of judicial procedure, and suggestions as to regulation of municipal finance.

Article 31, really epochal in import, tentatively recommends investigation of the utility of establishing in New Spain "one or more intendancies" similar to those of the Peninsula. Article 32 enjoins harmony with the viceroy, and Article 33 commands that essential changes in administration of *real hacienda* shall be referred to the king for decision.

In addition to these instructions, later letters from Esquilache and Arriaga authorized Gálvez to serve on the junta then working to establish the tobacco monopoly, and to study effective means of colonizing on farm lands of the frontier the idle and vicious inhabitants of the large cities of the viceroyalty.

The Council of the Indies also gave instructions to Gálvez to visit all courts of justice in New Spain, but the king commanded him to pay especial attention to affairs of *real hacienda;* hence, justice, abstract or concrete, received but slight attention during the visitation. Indeed, litigation, already excessive, tedious, and burdensome, was greatly increased, rather than diminished, by Gálvez's visitation.

Under the general legal provisions for such inspections, it was within the visitor's power and discretion to suspend any crown officer in the realm — appointment of new officers being dependent on the viceroy and the king. Procedure in the affairs of finance might be altered temporarily at discretion in accord with the viceroy, and permanently with royal approval. Any effort at impeding the visitation on the part of colonial officers or citizens might be punished by removal of the offender from the viceroyalty. Testimony against officers was taken in secret, the names of witnesses were withheld from the accused, and only categorical charges were lodged. Hence defense directed to the point at issue might be altogether lacking. Suspension or removal meant loss of salary or of the purchase price of employment in offices which were salable. It was within the power of the visitor to involve in utter ruin lower officials, and to embarrass exceedingly higher ones. Checks upon his action lay in the reservation of final judgment in suits to the Council of the Indies; administrative reform depended upon the good will of the viceroy for enforcement. And yet that officer, as superintendent of *real hacienda* and as president of the audiencia, was himself liable

to the processes of the visitation. Over his head, too, hung the prospect of the *residencia*, — official investigation of his conduct as viceroy and captain-general, — which might be invoked even before the end of his term, and certainly when that time came. Further checks on the visitor lay in the inertia to reforms which permeated official and commercial circles at all times, and in the obstinate opposition with which curtailment of special privilege and illicit gain was met. Smuggling and official theft, due to the restrictive monopoly of trade, burdensome taxation, and the unwise practice of selling non-judicial offices, created a community of illicit interests which bound together colonial officialdom for instinctive self-preservation whenever the personal emissary of the king began his investigations.

But Gálvez was a man of incredible energy, great nervous force, towering ambition, and malignant vindictiveness. He was well intrenched in the influence at court of the French-Italian party, and so came in the end to triumph over the commercial interests, represented by the Council of the Indies.

The visitor-general reached Vera Cruz July 18, 1765. At the outset he antagonized Cruíllas, the viceroy, by sending a warship to the Laguna de Términos on his own responsibility, to capture French and English smugglers. Spanish officials there involved in smuggling were suspended, and others were appointed by Gálvez without the viceroy's sanction. In his capacity as intendant of the army, Gálvez ordered detachments of troops about, tried a case at common criminal law, and intervened in affairs of military administration. Proceeding to Mexico, he undid the work of Espinosa, who, with Cruíllas, was effecting organization of the tobacco monopoly under the contract or farming system. In all that he touched, Gálvez showed that he had no intention of being controlled by Cruíllas. The latter resented this attitude, and a conflict ensued in which the viceroy was loser. Both officials complained to the king of their inability to work together. It was not long until Cruíllas was recalled, and Gálvez ordered to take his *residencia*. This arrangement was later changed, and the *residencia* was finally taken by Arangoyti, fiscal of Guatemala, and not by Areche, fiscal of Manila and later of Mexico, as has been elsewhere asserted.

The successor of Cruíllas, the Marqués de Croix, Francisco de Croix, assumed the viceroyalty in August, 1767. He had received reiterated commands, before leaving Spain, to facilitate the visitation of Gálvez. After his arrival, the visitation, for a year past ineffectual, moved forward with a relentless energy and efficiency hitherto unheard of in New Spain. In cordial collaboration, the two men carried out the decrees of the Jesuit expulsion of 1767; they planned and Gálvez executed the reorganization of Lower California, and the famous expeditions which resulted in the occupation of San Diego and Monterey in Upper California. In Sonora and Sinaloa the great pacification and colonization scheme met with defeat owing to the failure of the military expedition of 1768–71 to reduce the elusive savage tribes; but the system attempted by Gálvez was afterward used by the colonial and Mexican governments in settling the northern frontiers. It should not be forgotten that the northern activities of Gálvez, — the occupation of Monterey and establishment of the Provincias Internas, — while urged forcibly as military necessities, had as their basic purpose the extension of the opportunity to obtain royal revenues; to add new and rich domains was the same ambition as that of Cortés, which drove Gálvez to the frontier of New Spain two centuries and a half after the first great conqueror.

It was in the actual administration of affairs of *real hacienda*, however, that Gálvez found success in the prime object of his mission — to increase revenue. Typical of this work was the reorganization of customs collection at Vera Cruz. At that port a chaotic condition existed when Gálvez arrived. The customs were collected in part by *oficiales reales*, and in part by revenue farmers. Some of the duties were paid at one building to the oficiales, and at another to the revenue farmers. No adequate invoices were sent inland with the pack-trains, so that the quantity of goods delivered was not accounted for; the revenue mark (*marchamo*) was not affixed to goods that passed inspection, the coast guard was weak and corrupt, so that smuggling was easy and profitable, and the *oficiales* were making extortionate profits by allowing goods to pass without duty. The "cochino de Vera Cruz" — the Vera Cruz *hog* — was a corruption fund to which shipmasters and merchants contributed for immunity from duties

or for scaling down levies. The books of the custom-house were wretchedly kept, and the regulations governing protection of the public funds were violated with tacit consent of the viceroys.

After inspecting Vera Cruz and Mexico, Gálvez found only two officers whose duties had been discharged in a manner above reproach. The commercial interests were equally at fault. Perhaps the worst situation of all arose from the fact that the *alcabala* was not charged on goods to be sold at Vera Cruz, but upon goods sent inland from the port. The result was that the merchants got most of their goods into their own possession on account of short storage facilities, alleging that their stock was to be sold in Vera Cruz, whereas most of it was subsequently smuggled inland, with loss to the crown of thousands of *pesos* annually in *alcabala* revenues.

The remedy for this situation was the *Instrucción provisional* of 1767, which augmented the customs guards, centralized collection of duties under the *oficiales reales*, specified minute rules for the protection of the revenues collected, restricted the system of delays in payment of duties, and made the *alcabala* a duty payable at entry instead of at departure from Vera Cruz.

Similar remedies were invoked for similar evils at Acapulco; at that port, as well as at Vera Cruz, the essential features of the Gálvez reforms consisted in intensifying the rigor with which the revenues were collected. Change of the *alcabala* from six to four per cent thus worked an actual increase in crown income, inasmuch as under the new system the duty prescribed was actually collected. At Acapulco the most far-reaching reform measure was the assessment of duty on the Manila trade upon an actual *ad valorem* basis, instead of upon an estimated value of 125 *pesos* to each package introduced. But the success of all attempts to enforce faithful collection of duties depended most of all upon the integrity of the officials charged with the task. On this point Gálvez was guided by the fatuous idea that his own appointees could do no evil; the constant struggle of administering the colonies was to discover men for the offices who were sufficiently honest to consider appointment to the Indies as anything but an opportunity for self-enrichment.

During the Gálvez visitation the government price on quick-

silver, which was controlled as a monopoly, was reduced by one-fourth, and the sale of this commodity to small mining operators was undertaken; this policy resulted in some augmentation of the production of gold, an effect which was also partly the result of reductions in the salt tax, both salt and quicksilver being essentials in the processes of extracting the precious metals. Efforts to control gunpowder production did not succeed in eliminating illicit manufacture of that article in the mining regions, but did procure for the government a cheaper and better supply of ammunition for war purposes, while the revenue was increased to some extent.

The great tobacco monopoly, established by Gálvez in 1765–68, became one of the chief sources of revenue of New Spain. The production of tobacco was limited to certain small areas, other regions being prohibited from producing tobacco even for private use; the product was sold in government stores, by officials of *real hacienda*. The revenue received was about as large as the entire cost of operating the viceregal government. It was not, however, applied to the viceregal treasury, but was sent direct to Spain, in common with the revenues of the playing-card and quicksilver monopolies. The industry gave employment to thousands of poor in Mexico and Puebla, but resulted in impoverishment of certain regions near Guadalajara, where tobacco had been a staple product before the days of the monopoly.

The greatest administrative evil in New Spain, according to the opinion of Gálvez and of many other men who did not follow his opinions generally, was the system of local administration by *alcaldes*. These officers, charged with the administration of local justice and the collection of the tributes, bought their offices and paid their half annates — yearly tax on the employment — but they had long ceased to receive the salaries for which they had contracted when purchasing their offices. As a result, they were obliged to engage in mercantile pursuits, neglecting all but the tributes most easily collected, and using their official positions to enhance their own prosperity instead of that of their districts.

The remedy for this evil Gálvez and Croix believed to be the system of intendants. In 1768 they obtained the consent of the

king to the change, but the matter rested, pending choice of suitable men to discharge the new duties. Tentatively, Lower California, Sonora, and Sinaloa were put by Gálvez under the rule of intendants, but the system was not installed in New Spain at large until 1787, in which year Gálvez died, and it was working only imperfectly in 1792, when the first real friend of the system among the viceroys, Revillagigedo, set about establishing it effectually.

The salient feature of the intendant system was the subdelegation of viceregal duties to local representatives. The intendants were charged with the phases of government called war, justice, police, and treasury, It was in their immediate supervision of the collection of revenues within their intendancies that they served the central administration best. In actual practice, they improved the other phases of government very little. Under the original plan of Gálvez, they were directly responsible to a superintendent, who was, in 1787, distinct from the viceroy, though that official had acted as superintendent of *real hacienda* since the appointment of the first Revillagigedo. It was soon seen, however, that the change so diminished the prestige and authority of the viceroy, that he was no longer looked upon as more than a military chief. Such unseemly bickerings arose during the early trial of the new check on the viceroy that it was abandoned after only two years' trial, and in 1789 the viceroy again assumed direct supervision of *real hacienda.*

Another check upon the viceroy, or reduction of his manifold duties, was the establishment of the Provincias Internas, by which the northern frontier was placed under a military commandant independent in routine administration of the territory lying within the borders of the present California, New Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora, Sinaloa, Coahuila, and Texas. The main defect of this plan of subdivision was that the territory so set off was too vast, too sparsely settled, and too disadvantageously placed geographically for successful unification. Indeed, nowhere was more keenly felt the paucity of Spanish resources to protect the vast stretches of territory which had of necessity to be held as a protection for the older southern New Spain against the aggressive policies of Spain's traditional competitors for world dominion.

During the Gálvez visitation and his subsequent ministry, the old trammels which had bound commerce to a mistaken policy and economic ideal were removed by the gradual establishment of "free commerce." This change, like those already enumerated, was long in formulation, and slow in its inception. In 1764–65 several ports were opened in Spain and America. In 1768 and 1772, additions were made to these, and in 1778 practically all the old restrictions with respect to the freedom of the ports were removed. Duties were at the same time greatly reduced in amount, and simplified in assessment. The fleets and galleons were eliminated, the *consulados* were increased in number, and especial efforts were made to favor national trade and manufacture. It is too much to claim for Gálvez sole credit for conceiving this policy. Indeed, we know that it was seriously considered in 1764, before he began his public career. But to him more than to any other is due credit for the vigor with which the plan was carried out, under the influence of Campomanes and Floridablanca, native Spanish ministers who, after the waning of the influence of Charles' foreign ministers, achieved most of those reforms which have rendered famous the reign of the last great Spanish Bourbon. To no public measure was so much credit due for the increased prosperity of the New World as to the Reglamento of 1778. Under it, rather than under the system of intendants, the revenues from New Spain increased from six million to twenty million *pesos* within a period of twenty years.

If any generic criticism of the Gálvez reforms is permissible, it would be near the truth to say that they were essentially economic, at a time when the demands of the situation were equally imperative for social and judicial reform. The intendant system, while increasing efficiency of administration, was nevertheless felt by the Creole population to be one more avenue of advancement from which they were needlessly cut off. Its effect was to intensify rather than to mitigate the evils of which Spanish-Americans complained.

But the reforms initiated under the reign of Charles III had too inadequate opportunity for complete trial before the movements of unrest which, arising from revolutionary beginnings in America and Europe, engaged nearly the entire New World in its

great movement for political emancipation. It is curiously true that in the eighteenth century, which for Spain marked a prospectively possible return to her old-time position as one of the dominant political powers of Europe, both the renascent and the decadent movements owed their origin to the influence of Spain's neighbor and ally, France.

CALIFORNIA

THE "HOME GUARD" OF 1861

Horace Davis

About six years ago Mr. Benjamin H. Dibblee found among the papers of his father, the late Albert Dibblee, the records and muster rolls of the Home Guard of 1861. Seeing my name signed to one of the rolls, he brought it to me to find out what it was. I was surprised that any memento remained of the organization, which was a secret league formed here at the most critical period of the Civil War, to ensure the loyalty of California to the Lincoln administration. It was disbanded in September, 1861, after the election of a loyal governor was assured — which placed the State in cordial coöperation with the government at Washington.

Mr. Dibblee afterwards handed me the documents, which I deposited in the Bancroft Library as a gift from the heirs of Albert Dibblee. This paper recounts the events leading up to the formation of that League.

Going back to the State election in the fall of 1859 we find the political elements divided into three parties — Administration or "Lecompton" Democrats, Douglas Democrats, and Republicans or Freesoilers. The lines of cleavage followed the treatment of the Kansas problem. President Buchanan wanted Congress to recognize the Lecompton pro-slavery state constitution, Douglas was opposed to that policy, and the Republicans were for Free-soil in all the territories, limiting slavery to the states where it was already established.

The Lecompton Democrats included the Southerners in the State, who were numerous and powerful in wealth and social position; in addition they had the backing of the Federal and State patronage. At the State election in September, 1859, they won by an overwhelming majority over both the other parties,

polling 60 per cent of the vote, against 30 per cent of Douglas Democrats and only 10 per cent of the Republicans.

When the smoke of the battle cleared away it looked as though the "Chivalry Wing" of the Democracy, as it was generally called, was so firmly seated in the state government that there was little hope in the future for the Douglas men, and none at all for the Republicans. But the next year, 1860, the presidential election brought marvellous changes. The "Chivs" fell from their high estate, and the electoral vote of California went to Abraham Lincoln. Though he did not poll a third of the vote cast, he won the State by a meagre plurality of 700 votes out of nearly 120,000; the Douglas men were second in the race, while the Chivalry came third, their vote having dropped from 60 per cent to less than 29.

This popular landslide was a revolt against the political tyranny of the Administration Democrats, accentuated by the killing of Senator Broderick, the only man who had ever defeated them, killed in a duel which was openly charged to be the result of a deliberate conspiracy. Outside these Democratic quarrels the Republicans made a vigorous campaign on the lines of their own political faith, emphasizing the love of the Union, holding up to view the threats of secession freely made by the Chivalry, and covering the State with their very best speakers, such as Rev. Thomas Starr King and Col. E. D. Baker.

After the presidential election, events in the East leading up to the Civil War followed one another very rapidly. The cotton states seceded and formed the Montgomery Confederacy in February, 1861. Lincoln was duly inaugurated on the fourth of March and the next month the Confederacy fired on Fort Sumter. Firing on the national flag was real war and it was followed by an upburst of intense feeling on both sides of the line. The whole country was ablaze. In May President Lincoln declared a blockade of the Southern ports and called for 75,000 men. At once four border states seceded and joined the Southern Confederacy, which now moved its capital to Richmond. The time for compromise was over. The Confederates had fired on the flag. War was actually upon us, the whole country north and south was boiling with excitement and we lined up for the fray.

I have outlined above the political situation in California and east of the Rockies leading up to May 1861. It was a critical position for the Pacific coast. Detached from the rest of the country by a gap of twenty-five days Isthmus transit we were left to work out our own salvation in great measure and it was a doubtful problem.

A considerable section of our people were foreigners, devoid of loyalty to the flag; another part were born south of Mason and Dixon's line and sympathized with the South. These men did not advocate joining the Southern Confederacy but they advised neutrality. They said: "What have we to do with these Eastern divisions; we have no interest in slavery out here one way or the other — let them fight out their own quarrels; the thing for us to do is to form a Pacific Republic of our own, independent of both factions. We are so isolated we have got to take care of ourselves anyway. Probably a third of our people are Southern men, why not hold together and all work for California?" It was a specious argument, dangerous in the extreme, with a strong backing of political and social influence. The Southern men were numerous, many of them wealthy and holding high business and social positions. Every man representing California in Congress was from the South. The Federal patronage had been theirs up to the summer of '61; the state government was entirely in their hands; the commanding officers in the army and navy on this coast and the highest judicial functionary were all Southern men.

There was one bright spot; the municipal government of San Francisco was sound to the core. As reorganized by the Vigilance Committee in 1856 it was absolutely sound; though non-partisan it was absolutely loyal to the Washington administration; and San Francisco was the key to the situation on the Pacific coast; whoever held this city could control the coast. But at some points in the interior, especially Sonoma, San Joaquin and Visalia, the "secesh," as we called them, were numerous and noisy, raising the Confederate flag and even organizing military companies at one or two places. The counties south of Tehachapi too, being largely Mexicans, were willing to secede. — But as long as the United States held San Francisco the malcontents could do little but bluster.

It must not be thought the Union men were idle all this time. We held a grand Union mass meeting here on Washington's Birthday and we sent our best speakers all over the interior to arouse the patriotism of the people and organize resistance to seccession. Thomas Starr King was especially efficient in this line and to him more than any other one man is due the kindling of the spirit of loyalty to the Union.

And at last things began to drift our way. Gwin's senatorial term expired and we got a Douglas Democrat in his place. As soon as possible after Lincoln's inauguration the Buchanan Federal officials were replaced by men in sympathy with the new President. Best of all he detailed General Edwin V. Sumner to supersede Albert Sidney Johnston in command of the Pacific Division of the United States Army. To escape observation Sumner boarded the Panama steamer at New York after she left the pier, but some spy in the department at Washington sent word to Johnston overland by Pony Express. When Sumner arrived via Panama on April 24, he took command the same day. Johnston, however, was ready for him, having already sent to Washington his resignation of his commission in the Army.

By a singular coincidence the news of the bombardment of Sumter came overland the same day General Sumner reached us by the Isthmus, and it created a profound impression; firing on the flag was war and we saw clearer every day that there was no middle course; it was for or against the Union. When the fall of Sumter reached us the patriotic men resolvéd to hold a grand rally for the Union on May 11th. Business was suspended, banks were closed, the town was decked with flags and an immense mass meeting was held at the junction of Post, Montgomery and Market, which was addressed by both United States senators, by Generals Sumner and Shields of the United States Army and by several prominent citizens. The crowd was so great that overflow meetings were organized in the neighborhood which were also addressed by earnest speakers. Glowing patriotic resolutions were passed pledging the State to support Lincoln's Administration. At the same time Union mass meetings were held at various points in the interior. The whole movement was a great success, and turned many a hesitating man to the support of the Union. Among other good things it braced

up the wavering legislature to pass some strong resolutions pledging the State to stand by the Government. The governor of the State, John G. Downey, a Douglas Democrat, had been asked to preside at our mass meeting, but he declined, alleging that his duties detained him at Sacramento, and in his letter he repudiated the policy of Lincoln in these words "I do not believe that an aggressive war should be waged on any section of the Confederacy, nor do I believe that this Union can be preserved by a coercive policy." That letter killed Downey politically.

General Sumner immediately on his arrival had entered on an active campaign to strengthen the position of the Federal government. He drew in the detachments of troops which Johnston had scattered over the interior of the State; he removed the arms and munitions of war to a place of safety on Alcatraz Island, over which he placed a strong garrison. He raised the regiments required by Lincoln's call, and coöperated in every way to put the city in a condition of safety.

For we were in the position of a border State rather than a Northern State. Our situation was more like Kentucky than like New York. Many of our people were indifferent as to the outcome, and a large element sympathized freely with the Southern Confederacy. Your next door neighbor might be a Southern man. You traded together, met on the floor of the Exchange, belonged to the same church or lodge, your families were intimate, meeting constantly in social matters, and yet in public affairs he was an enemy, may be a spy. Extreme vigilance was necessary to meet the plotters in our very midst.

After the arrival of Sumner, when we felt that we were comparatively safe, that the United States forces were in loyal hands, the next move was to ensure the fidelity of the State government. A State election was coming in September and Mr. Lincoln was very anxious that we should choose a man for governor on whom he could rely, who would hold up his hands. Slavery cut no figure out here. The only issue with us was the saving of the Union. If we could combine the Douglas men and the Republicans, they would far outnumber the Secessionists, but the political schemers undermined us at every turn. Ultimately they prevented the coalition of the two parties, but it was just as well, for we

fought it out on our own lines and at last won the battle for ourselves.

Two prominent events of the summer of '61 helped us very much. On June 3, Stephen A. Douglas died, leaving his party without a head, and six weeks later came the defeat at Bull Run and the narrow escape of Washington from capture. This only stimulated us to greater effort, while it showed the Douglas men there was no stopping ground between union and secession, between Lincoln and Jeff Davis.

There were really but two tenable positions, for or against the government, and we called on every man to take his stand on one side or the other. Patriotism fused with religion and the Stars and Stripes were raised on all Protestant churches, except the Episcopal, and the pulpits rang with patriotic appeals. Mass meetings were called all over the State, and we sent out our ablest and most eloquent men as missionaries. Starr King was especially conspicuous and he travelled over the interior from north to south, firing the zeal of the loyal men. His meetings were sometimes disturbed, and occasionally his life was threatened, but take it altogether, it was wonderful that so few real disturbances occurred.

The Union men worked very hard to combine the two parties on one ticket. Committees and conferences met daily and it was one of these conferences that led indirectly to the formation of the "Home Guard."

Some time in the latter part of the summer, my friend, James Otis, afterwards mayor, asked me to go with him to a meeting of citizens in his office on Sansome Street, near Pine, that evening. About fifty men were there, but nothing was done. Apparently they were all trying to do politics. So, as we filed out after an hour's empty talk, Otis whispered, "Follow me, but keep at a distance." To my surprise, he turned north. I crossed the street and kept him in sight. We went on clear to Pacific Street, where we found the iron doors of Dewitt, Kittle & Company's warehouse ajar, and went in. A light was soon turned on in the inner office, and in a few minutes eight or ten men had gathered there.

We quickly organized ourselves into a permanent committee of safety, to do what we could to put down secession and to keep

California true to the Union. We acted nominally under the authority of the Union Committee of Thirty-four, appointed at the great mass meeting of May 11. We resolved to keep up our organization as long as it was needed, and for the present we determined that our meetings had better be secret. In point of fact, when the fall elections placed the government in safe hands, we dissolved our committee. It was a pretty strong body of men: Otis, John Kittle, Albert Dibblee, Fitch of the *Bulletin*, General Lucius H. Allen, Rev. Thomas Starr King, C. J. Dempster, I think, and others whom I have forgotten. Sometimes General Sumner attended our meetings, and sometimes men prominent in the city government. We worked to elect a war governor who would do all he could to uphold the hands of Mr. Lincoln. Of the three candidates Stanford was the only one who filled the bill. Next we labored to maintain the patriotic propaganda throughout the State, of which Starr King was the great apostle. Then we tried to fill the organized militia regiments and bring them up to the best possible standard of efficiency; and last, we urged every loyal man to declare himself, and we enrolled the friends of the government into a "Home Guard," which could be called on in case of necessity. Our purpose included only those who were not already enrolled in the militia or some other organization pledging them to an unqualified support of the Union. We were successful in all our points.

The strong patriotic sentiment soon filled the ranks of the militia to overflowing, and new companies were formed, mainly of young men. A man who couldn't go to the war could at least give some of his time to protecting his home. I myself joined the City Guard and carried a musket in the ranks till 1866.

Meantime, in July, came requisitions from Washington for soldiers for the Union Army. These were promptly filled, the offerings of volunteers being largely in advance of the requirements. And I may add here, that California furnished during the war somewhere about thirteen to fifteen thousand soldiers. She offered to raise more men, but it was deemed unwise to deplete her fighting resources in view of her isolated position and the troublesome element in her midst.

Returning to the work of our committee, we succeeded in enroll-

ing a large body of reliable men of this city, not otherwise pledged, in our "Home Guard." About 1909 Mr. Ben H. Dibblee, as I said before, brought me the muster roll of my own company which he had found among his father's papers. I recognized it as an old friend, of sacred memory. Dibblee gave it to me and I will read it to you, as it breathes so freshly the passions and sentiments of the summer of 1861.

(Endorsements)

HOME GUARD

ROLL NO. 28

I do hereby certify that the 20 names on the within Muster Roll were all obtained by me, and that I personally vouch for each and every one of the signers as a Faithful And Unconditional Union Man.

San Francisco, September 12, 1861. Horace Davis.

(The Call)

San Francisco,

August 30, 1861.

At the great Union meeting of the citizens of this city held on the eleventh day of May, 1861, a Union Committee of Thirty-four was appointed for the purpose of taking such measures as might become necessary for the "detection and suppression of any treasonable combinations or conspiracies against the Union and the public peace." Recent indications have made it probable that the contingency anticipated in the resolution appointing that Committee has occurred, and that combinations dangerous to the Union and the public peace are being formed, or have actually been completed, in this City and throughout the State. The

Committee, therefore, have deemed it necessary, among other measures for carrying into effect the purposes of their appointment, to recommend the establishment of a HOME GUARD for the City and County of San Francisco; and to that end they have delegated to an Executive Committee of Five, from their own number, the necessary power to perfect such an organization, and have named LUCIUS H. ALLEN, of the firm of Allen & Lewis, a graduate of West Point, and for many years an officer of the Army of the United States, as the Commander of such Guard. Under this authority, the Executive Committee propose the enrollment of all good Union men, who, when necessity shall arrive, will be willing and ready to take up arms for the defense of their homes and the suppression of treason and insurrection — their formation into Companies of sixty each, with a Captain and two Lieutenants, respectively, to be chosen by themselves and approved by the Commander — and such further organizations as may hereafter be deemed necessary. And in order to ascertain who among us will be faithful in the hour of trial, and may safely be entrusted with arms to oppose the traitors, the following pledge is offered for the signatures of those who are willing to enroll themselves as members of the Home Guard.

Mr. Horace Davis is duly authorized to obtain such signatures hereto.

ALEX G. ABELL,

Chairman of Executive Committee.

(THE PLEDGE)

HOME GUARD

MUSTER ROLL

We, the undersigned, do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to support the Government and Constitution of the United States, and promptly and faithfully to obey, within the City and

County of San Francisco, during the existing war, any and all orders emanating from the military officers of this organization for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of the citizens and for the suppression of treason and insurrection.

SIGNATURES RESIDENCE PLACE OF BUSINESS ARMS ON HAND

[Not reproduced here.]

That was a summer of intense feeling and much hard work, but it was crowned with success. We elected Stanford by an overwhelming majority, and the State was safe. The vote stood, in percentages,

Stanford,	46.8
Conness,	25.9
McConnell,	27.3
	100.

After this decisive vote many of the Chivalry leaders left to join the Southern Confederacy. There was an exodus of southern office holders, including Senator Gwin, both congressmen, the state controller, and many other southern sympathizers. After this the fight against us out here was mainly of a guerilla character.

I need only add that the only active service the Home Guard ever performed was to keep the peace around the polls on that eventful election day. As soon as we knew that a governor was elected who was true to the Union, and loyal to the Lincoln administration, the Home Guard was dissolved and our Committee disbanded. It had never seen the light of the public press and I did not suppose any reminder of its existence remained until Mr. Dibblee brought me that muster roll.

THE FOUNDING OF SAN FRANCISCO

Charles E. Chapman

So far as concerns local events preliminary to the founding of San Francisco and those contemporary with it, Hubert Howe Bancroft and, more recently, Zoeth Skinner Eldredge [1] have written in such detail that it would be hardly worth while to attempt to supplement their accounts. Something may be said, however, of the attitude of the Spanish government with regard to settlement of San Francisco, and it is to that phase of the subject that this paper will be devoted, summarizing the correspondence of the viceroy of New Spain with the government in Spain, on the one hand, and, to a less extent, with officials in California, on the other. Events in connection with the founding will be given only in bare outline.[2]

The first Europeans to sail along the coast of California were Spaniards under Cabrillo and Ferrelo, 1542–43. In upward of two centuries following, a number of others passed along this coast, Drake in 1579, and Vizcaíno in 1602–3, coming from the south, and an unrecorded number of galleons from Manila, sailing southward to Acapulco. No settlements were made, but the coast line from Cape Mendocino to Cape San Lucas became fairly well known in a general way, with one striking exception, — none of these voyagers, so far as can be learned, ever noted the Golden Gate and the great bay behind it. This has caused some writers to assert that the bay did not exist, when Drake landed not far from where it now is, but was formed later by what must have been a truly wonderful and beneficent convulsion of nature.[3]

[1] *The Beginnings of San Francisco* (2 vols., San Francisco, 1912).

[2] Most of the materials quoted in this paper are to be found in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. Other materials are in the Archivo General y Público and the Museo Nacional of Mexico, and in the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

[3] The latest proponent of this view is Mrs. Gertrude Atherton in her work called *California: an Intimate History* (New York and London, 1914).

At any rate, discovery of San Francisco Bay was postponed until 1769, when Gaspar de Portolá led the first expedition by land to California. Scarcity of provisions and consequent necessity of returning to San Diego prevented exploration of the bay by Portolá. A year later, in November, 1770, Pedro Fages paid a brief visit to San Francisco Bay, coming overland from Monterey, but made no extensive exploration. A letter by Rivera, an officer with Portolá, to Viceroy Croix, March 2, 1770, indicates the impression caused by the discovery upon those who took part in it. He expressed an opinion that the newly-discovered port, if deep enough, might prove to be better than the one at San Diego. It also had all necessary requisites as a site for settlement.[1]

News of the discovery had hardly been received in Mexico when Croix gave orders, November 12, 1770, for a thorough exploration of the port, and establishment of a mission on its shores to secure it from occupation by another power. The order was received in May, 1771, but Fages regarded it as impossible of fulfilment, because of the great number of Indians in California, and his inability to furnish troops for mission guards, without which missions could not be founded.[2] This drew forth a long letter of complaint from the Father President of the California missions, Junípero Serra, to the viceroy, June 18, 1771. He believed the delay unnecessary.[3]

The Fages and Serra letters must have reached Mexico at about the time when a new viceroy took possession of the government of New Spain, Antonio María Bucarely y Ursúa, one of the greatest rulers that New Spain ever had. Bucarely came to power in September, 1771. For nearly two years thereafter, he was concerned so far as California affairs went, primarily with maintaining what had already been established, and seeking information upon which to base measures for advancing the conquest. In both respects he encountered difficulties. As late as February 24, 1773, Bucarely wrote to Julián de Arriaga, Spanish minister of the Indies, that affairs in the new establishments were in a

[1] Arch. Gen. y Púb., Californias, vol. 66.
[2] Fages to Croix, June 20, 1771. Arch. Gen. y Púb., Californias, vol. 66.
[3] Arch. Gen. y Púb., Californias, vol. 66.

deplorable state. Discord between Fages and the missionaries was so great, and desertions of soldiers so numerous, that early ruin of the settlements might be expected.[1]

Clearly, not much progress with the formation of San Francisco could be expected under these circumstances. Something, however, had been attempted in March and April, 1772, when Fages made an overland expedition to the bay. He attempted to get around it, but failed, and returned to Monterey. He had made no examination of the bay itself, the merits of which as a port remained unknown.

By the middle of the year 1773 Bucarely had become sufficiently well informed to commence a series of measures, of which the founding of San Francisco formed a part, all based upon the single idea of precaution against possibility of foreign attack upon the Pacific coast of New Spain, particularly by Russia, of whose activities in the far northwest greatly exaggerated reports had been received. No attempt can be made here to trace the course of these measures, except those directly affecting San Francisco, but it would give a false perspective to the subject in hand, if they were passed by without mention. The following are the measures referred to:

On July 23, 1773, a provisional *reglamento*, or instrument of government, for the two Californias,[2] to which Bucarely had devoted considerable attention for several months, received official sanction by his decree. It was supplemented on August 17 by instructions to Fernando Rivera, who was to lead some soldier-settlers up Baja California to Monterey, and succeed Fages in command of the new establishments.

On September 13 an expedition under Juan Bautista de Anza was authorized to seek an overland route from Sonora to Monterey, the land route to California never having been traversed by Spaniards. The expedition started in January, 1774, achieved its purpose, and returned to Sonora in May.

From December, 1773, to March, 1774, Agustín Crame was employed upon an exploration of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec

[1] A. G. de I., 103–6–16.

[2] To wit, what is now American California and Baja California of Mexico. These were nominally one government under Spain, though in fact under separate rule.

to see if a suitable route for transportation of artillery might be found. Crame reported the finding of such a route.

More insistent reports of Russian aggression having been received in July, 1773, a voyage of exploration under Juan Pérez to the far northwest was soon decided upon. Pérez left San Blas in January, 1774, got to about 55° without seeing any Russians, but also without satisfactorily examining the coast, and reached San Blas again in November.

Another voyage was at once prepared, and was able to leave port in March, 1775. One ship under Heceta got to about 49° and the other under Bodega to 58°. A somewhat better exploration of the coast was made than on the previous voyage, but again no Russians were found. By November both ships were back at San Blas.

A second Anza expedition was authorized in November, 1774, to go by the newly-discovered overland route to California. Not only were settlers for San Francisco to form part of the expedition, but domestic animals were also to be taken along, there being great need of them in California in order to ensure permanence of the settlements. Anza left Sonora in October, 1775, and reached Monterey in March, 1776.

In addition to these outstanding events there were many others related to the same idea of precaution against foreign attack, such as the sending of supply-ships to California (a vital matter), measures for internal development of the province and extension of religious conquest, plans for closing the gap between Sonora and California with missions and presidios, an attempt to find a route from New Mexico to California in 1776, preparations for a new series of voyages, and even reduction of the warlike Indians of the interior provinces. A number of Bucarely's letters might be cited both from his official correspondence with Arriaga and Gálvez, and from private correspondence with General Alejandro O'Reilly, to prove that these measures were part of an uniform plan to forestall foreign aggression, especially by the Russians.[1]

[1] In a letter to Gálvez of June 26, 1776 (Arch. Gen. y Púb., Cor. Vir., series I, vol. 12, No. 2296), Bucarely mentions no less than forty-seven other letters bearing upon measures taken as against the Russian danger, the same measures as those referred to above. Nor were these all that he might have included; for example, his letter No. 1562 (A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 10), though not included in the list just mentioned is decidedly in point. The O'Reilly corre-

We may now proceed with measures looking to the foundation of San Francisco in part fulfillment of the plan.

The instruction to Rivera, the newly-appointed commandant of California, August 17, 1773, called upon him to make an early exploration of the port of San Francisco, if further examination were necessary, and to consult with Father Serra about the founding of a mission there.[1] Plans soon developed for two missions at San Francisco, under protection of a military colony. Serra had asked for a number of new missions elsewhere in California. Writing to Arriaga, May 27, 1774, Bucarely announced himself as favorable, but the two at San Francisco should first be established, and a fresh exploration of the port be made.[2] In another letter of the same date he expressed a hope that the Anza and Rivera expeditions, which at last accounts were on the way respectively from Sonora and Baja California to California, might meet. In that case there would be men enough for exploration of San Francisco and establishment of one or more missions there. He was hoping to hear that it had been done.[3] Two days before, he had written to Father Palou of California to the same effect, and asked for detailed information of everything tending to such a result.[4] Anza left California, however, before Rivera got there; so the projected occupation of San Francisco was for the time delayed.

With the success of Anza's first expedition Bucarely began to plan another, even before he learned of Anza's return. One of the objects of the new expedition, he wrote to Arriaga, September 28, 1774, was to bring about occupation of San Francisco.[5] In a letter dated September 26, he wrote of Rivera's proposed transfer of the presidio of Monterey to another site away from the coast. Bucarely was inclined to favor the plan, assigning as one of his reasons the greater nearness of the new site to San Francisco.[6] Bucarely was also planning a sea expedition under

spondence is in A. G. de I., 88–5–17, comprising most of the *legajo*. Bucarely was in the habit of writing once a month to O'Reilly, and several of his letters refer to the acts noticed above as having been done by way of precaution against the Russians.

[1] A. G. de I., 104–6–16. [2] *Ibid.*, 104–6–15. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Bucarely to Palou, May 25, 1774, in Palou, *Noticias* (San Francisco, 1874), pp. 254–257.

[5] A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 10.

[6] A. G. de I., 104–6–17.

Miguel Manrique for exploration of the port. Manrique's ship, wrote Bucarely, November 26, 1774, was to leave San Blas early in 1775, going as far as California with the boats to be employed in northwestward explorations, and entering San Francisco Bay. "I regard the occupation of this port as indispensable," continued Bucarely, "and to facilitate it I intend that Anza, who is now at this capital, shall return to Sonora and make a second expedition." [1]

All of Bucarely's measures, except the proposed transfer of Monterey, were approved by Arriaga.[2] In several cases the latter had referred Bucarely's letters to José de Gálvez, whose experience as *visitador* in New Spain, when he had caused occupation of California, qualified him to give expert advice. In one of Gálvez's replies, written March 8, 1774, before he had heard of the first Anza expedition, the former *visitador* recommended that communications with California be established from Sonora and New Mexico, especially with Monterey and San Francisco, which ought to be secured at all costs.[3]

Anza got to Mexico City in November, 1774. During that month and the first half of the next the preliminary arrangements for his new expedition were made, a detailed plan of its composition, equipment, and objects being drawn up, and necessary approval by the authorities of the viceroyalty obtained. The occupation of San Francisco being one of the principal objects of the expedition, that matter was referred to many times. Perhaps it will be enough here, however, to cite Bucarely's letter of December 27, telling what he had done to bring about establishment of more missions in California, especially two at San Francisco. Recognizing the importance of furthering the conquest in that province, he had planned a second expedition from Sonora to California under Anza, the latter to take as many soldiers as necessary for escort of the San Francisco missions, and to erect a monument there to indicate that the land belonged to Spain. The expedition had just been authorized. Anza was to recruit

[1] A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 11.

[2] Arriaga to Bucarely, September 22, 1774. A. G. de I., 104–6–15. Same to same, May 14, 1775. A. G. de I., 104–6–17. This letter also disapproved the transfer of Monterey. A positive command against removal appears in Gálvez to Bucarely, April 10, 1776, A. G. de I., 104–6–17.

[3] *Ibid.*, 104–6–16.

thirty persons, aiming to get married people, and take them, their wives, and children to the port of San Francisco, with a view to founding a goodly colony there, not only to guard that place, but also to serve as a base for future settlements. Others were to go with the expedition, but only the thirty families were destined for San Francisco. Erection of the missions had been assigned to Serra, and instructions had been given to Rivera requiring him to lend aid. Then followed details about expense, much of which had to come from the royal treasury. The missionaries were to be found among the supernumerary religious in California.[1] Another letter of December 27 apprised Arriaga of plans for the 1775 voyages of exploration. Not only was Manrique to explore San Francisco Bay, but Heceta had also been ordered to do so, upon his return from the north. At that time it was possible that Anza's troops might already have arrived.[2] Arriaga's approvals for these measures were as usual forthcoming.[3]

Appropriate orders having been given to Anza, corresponding instructions were sent to Rivera and Serra. On December 15, 1774, Bucarely informed Rivera of the projected Anza expedition. For use of Anza's settlers he was sending by sea an extra stock of provisions, which were on no account to be diverted to any other use. The troops brought by Anza were to be under Rivera's command from the moment they reached Monterey, although Anza was to assist in the exploration of the river emptying into San Francisco Bay. Not only were there to be two missions at San Francisco, but also a presidio between them and near the coast, to aid them the more readily in case their escort of six soldiers each should not suffice.[4] There was much in this letter concerning the reasons for desiring settlements at San Francisco, such as its importance for future conquests, and the relations of Rivera and Serra in regard to the foundation, but these remarks add nothing to what has already been ascribed to Bucarely in other references to his correspondence. A letter in almost identical terms was addressed to Serra on the same day.[5] Another letter

[1] A. G. de I., 104–6–16.
[2] *Ibid.*, Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 13.
[3] Arriaga to Bucarely, May 15, 1775, A. G. de I., 104–6–16. Same to same, June 23, 1775, A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 13.
[4] Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, Ben. Mis., vol. 2, pp. 20–25.
[5] Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Arch. Mis., vol. 1, pp. 49–56.

to Rivera, January 2, 1775, repeated directions as to location of the fort, and ordered that a separate account be kept of expense incurred in occupying San Francisco.[1]

Serra clearly was ready to support the project for missions at San Francisco. On September 9, 1774, he wrote to Bucarely complaining of Pérez, who had just returned from his voyage to the northwest, and Rivera for not helping to found the two missions at once. Pérez insisted on returning to San Blas, after an earlier promise to lend his aid, and Rivera claimed that he did not have troops enough.[2]

It is not unlikely that Rivera's caution was justified. In all California between San Diego and Monterey there were but eighty soldiers in two presidios and five missions, holding in check many thousands of Indians. That these Indians were not as docile as commonly supposed, is amply proved by two very remarkable documents that may be referred to in passing. One is a memorial by Pedro Fages dated at Mexico, November 30, 1775,[3] and the other an account by the religious of the College of San Fernando, Mexico, February 26, 1776, of discoveries from 1769 to 1776 between 30° 26′ and 57° 18′.[4] Both discuss at great length the affairs of California, the Fages report being particularly devoted to characterization of the Indians. Both documents show clearly that it was only by military force, small as were Spanish numbers, that the province was held at all.

The families originally recruited by Rivera for California did not reach San Diego until September 26, 1774, several months after the arrival of their commander and after the date of Serra's letter of complaint just quoted. Rivera now felt strong enough to attempt the oft-enjoined exploration of San Francisco's port. He headed a party which left Monterey on November 23. The expedition got within the limits of the modern city of San Francisco, planting a cross on the hill overlooking the Seal Rocks, but

[1] Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, vol. 1, pp. 166–167.
[2] A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Guad., 1, Doc. 9. Both the Spanish and a translation to English appear in Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, vol. 2, pp. 73–80.
[3] A. G. de I., 104–6–17.
[4] *Ibid.* Both the Fages and the San Fernando documents are considered in Chapman, *Importance of the military in early Spanish settlements of California*, in the *Grizzly Bear Magazine* of Los Angeles for December, 1915.

encountered the early winter rains, and returned to Monterey without having accomplished anything, arriving December 13.[1] Commenting upon the expedition in a letter to Bucarely, January 8, 1775, Serra showed less enthusiasm than before for the San Francisco missions, but it was only because he wanted four others to complete the chain between San Diego and Monterey, with a corresponding increase in the military establishment.[2]

Upon hearing of the Rivera expedition Bucarely wrote to Rivera [3] and Serra,[4] both letters being dated May 24, 1775, and substantially the same in content. He realized that the Rivera expedition of the preceding November had come at a bad time of year for establishment of missions, but wished Rivera to continue his efforts to find sites for them. It would be well to found the missions that Serra had asked for, but establishment of the fort and two missions at San Francisco was the most important consideration. Both men were bidden to act in harmony with each other. Bucarely's letter to Arriaga, May 27, 1775, was of much the same tenor. Anza and Ayala had been given orders to occupy San Francisco, he said.[5]

Ayala had succeeded Manrique in command of the *San Carlos*, destined to explore San Francisco Bay, Manrique having become insane.[6] The *San Carlos* left San Blas on March 16,[7] proceeded to California, and was in San Francisco Bay all of August and most of September, 1775. Ayala found that there was a practicable entrance, and as he reported, not merely one port within, but many. Rivera had been ordered to coöperate with a land expedition, and the two were to erect buildings for the settlers that were to come with Anza, but as some of Rivera's soldiers were temporarily absent, he was unwilling to draw more from his presidio, and remained at Monterey. Meanwhile, Heceta, returning from the north, missed the entrance to San Francisco Bay, and went on to Monterey. Rivera's garrison was by that time at its full

[1] For both the Rivera and Palou diaries, A. G. de I., 104–6–16. The latter is also in Palou, *Noticias* (San Francisco, 1874), vol. 3, pp. 264–315.
[2] A. G. de I., 104–6–16.
[3] Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, vol. 1, pp. 171–174.
[4] Mus. Nac., Docs. Rel. Mis. Cal., Octavo Series.
[5] A. G. de I., 104–6–16.
[6] Bucarely to Arriaga, March 27, 1775, A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 16.
[7] A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 15.

strength. Heceta, therefore, procured troops, and made an overland trip to San Francisco and back. He reached San Francisco just after Ayala's departure, and remained but two days before returning. The trip had occupied from September 14 to October 1. Neither the buildings for Anza's settlers nor the missions had been erected, but there was no longer any doubt of the value of the port.

Ayala brought news of these events to the viceroy, reaching San Blas, November 6, 1775. On the 9th he wrote to Bucarely about his exploration of San Francisco Bay, saying that it was the best port that he had seen from Cape Horn north.[1] Bucarely also received a report and description of the bay of date September 7, 1775, by Cañizares, Ayala's pilot.[2] In forwarding copies of these two documents to Arriaga, November 26, 1775, Bucarely spoke with satisfaction of the peaceful character of the Indians at San Francisco, the excellence of its port, and the adaptability of the site for settlement. There was plenty of fresh water, firewood, and stone, and the climate was cold, but healthful, and free from the fogs that Monterey experienced.[3]

As already noted, Rivera had failed to coöperate with Ayala in his exploration. It is doubtful if he would have, even had all his soldiers been present. At any rate, he wrote to Bucarely, August 8, 1775, shortly after Ayala's departure for San Francisco, that he intended to postpone exploration there until Anza's arrival, when he would erect the fort and two missions. At the fort he intended to install two of the cannon then at Monterey. Bucarely replied January 20, 1776. At that late date there was nothing to do but to approve.[4] We may now turn our attention to the second Anza expedition, from which so much was expected.

The details of the expedition itself may be referred to briefly. As the expedition left Horcasitas it contained 238 persons. Anza was to make a very remarkable march indeed, for this large party, travelling on a route which led across the Colorado Desert, had actually increased in number by the time it reached California.

[1] A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 19. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* Later experience would hardly sustain the viceroy as regards the fogs.
[4] Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, vol. 1, pp. 193–194.

Eight children were born during the march. Only one death occurred, and that at the outset, — a woman in child-birth. The most significant part of the force was the thirty soldiers and their families intended as a garrison for San Francisco. Over a thousand domestic animals were taken along, about a third of them being for the new colony of San Francisco. All equipment was at government expense, from a horse or a gun to a piece of ribbon. Each family of settlers was to get pay for two years and rations for five, involving an expense of about $800 a family, — high evidence of the importance of the colony, when one considers how scantily Spain dealt out funds for her colonies, if the return were not to be immediate or certain.

The expedition left Horcasitas, Sonora, on September 29, 1775, but was not fairly under way until October 23, when it left Tubac. On November 28 it had reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers, and on January 4, 1776, was at San Gabriel mission, near the modern Los Angeles.

A considerable delay now occurred owing to an Indian outbreak at San Diego, which Anza's presence helped to quell, although he was not obliged to strike a blow.[1] The revolt affected the foundation of San Francisco, for Rivera was now unwilling to coöperate to that end, feeling that troops could not be spared. Anza was eager to fulfill his orders, however, and relations between the two officers got to be far from cordial. Anza, therefore, proceeded alone to Monterey, arriving March 10. Between March 23 and April 8 he led a party which made a thorough examination of the site of San Francisco, and proceeded around the bay through present-day Oakland and Berkeley to the San Joaquin River before turning back. His examination of San Francisco had proved it to be a very satisfactory site, but no buildings had been erected, and the settlers remained at Monterey. He himself soon returned to Mexico.

Bucarely expressed himself as much displeased, when he learned that the foundation of San Francisco had not taken place. The failure had been caused, he said, in a letter to Gálvez, August 27, 1776, by Rivera, due to his belief in the greater importance of the San Diego affair, nor did Bucarely hold Anza entirely blameless.

[1] Bucarely to Arriaga, March 27, 1776, A. G. de I., 104–6–17.

He had written to both, telling them that they had acted improperly in not making the San Francisco establishments. Governor Neve of Baja California, who previously had been ordered to change places with Rivera, was going there in good time, thought Bucarely. Bucarely had told him how annoyed he was by the dissension between Anza and Rivera, which had caused a partial failure of his plans, and had charged him that the foundation of San Francisco was to be preferred to all else.[1]

Rivera had refused to coöperate with Anza in establishing the new colony, but later took steps to bring about the foundation. While in San Diego on May 8 he sent an order to José Moraga, an officer and settler who had come with Anza, to proceed to San Francisco and erect a fort. Moraga's force, including the settlers and their families and Fathers Palou and Cambón, proceeded to San Francisco, and reached there on June 27. They passed the first "Fourth of July" there, unaware how near they had come to selecting a resounding date for their arrival. Meanwhile, the work of erecting buildings went on, and on September 17, 1776, a formal ceremony took place to indicate that the presidio of San Francisco had begun its official existence. On October 9 there was another solemn function, this time to signalize the founding of the mission San Francisco de Asís, now more commonly called Mission Dolores.

It was not for several months that news got to Mexico of the foundation of San Francisco. Meanwhile, Bucarely's letters made frequent references to the northern port. On July 27, 1776, Bucarely wrote to Gálvez of measures taken in view of the gradual filling in of the port of San Blas. The nearby ports of Chacala and Matanchel were better than San Blas, but he was not in favor of immediate removal. If voyages of discovery were to be continued, either Trinidad, Guatemala, or San Francisco, California, would be a better location for a marine department.[2] Gálvez's reply, January 9, 1777, is interesting. Continue the department at San Blas, he said, until that port becomes wholly useless; then move it temporarily to Acapulco; finally, let it be established in some good port of California.[3] In a letter of

[1] A. G. de I., 104–6–17. Gálvez had succeeded Arriaga in January, upon the death of the latter.

[2] *Ibid.*, 104–5–24.

[3] *Ibid.*

August 27, 1776, Bucarely told of ordering some domestic animals sent from certain Baja California missions to California. Neve was to distribute them as he saw fit, giving San Francisco the preference, however.[1] At length, news of the founding of San Francisco reached the viceroy, and details of the event were recounted by him in a letter of November 26, 1776, to Gálvez.[2]

Three of Bucarely's letters to Gálvez of December 27, 1776, contain references to San Francisco that may be worthy of record. Boats were so few on the Pacific that there was grave question for a time whether enough supplies could be sent to California for the year 1777. Bucarely had decided to send them first to San Francisco, preferring that to San Diego, both because it was new, and because there were more soldiers and settlers there.[3] Another letter announced the return of the *San Carlos* from San Francisco, bringing news of the rapid progress of this place.[4] Great as had been that progress, wrote Bucarely in a third letter, he was taking no chance of a possible decline. A surgeon, carpenter, mason, and smith were being sought in Mexico City to send there, and a quantity of clothing, tools, and other utensils and effects, especially those for agricultural uses, were being sent to San Blas by forced marches for shipment to San Francisco. News had come that provisions were short there, wherefore Bucarely had ordered the *Santiago* to sail direct for that port, without the usual previous stops at San Diego and Monterey.[5]

One more document may be cited, Bucarely's instruction of December 25, 1776, to Felipe Neve for his guidance as governor of California. San Francisco is mentioned a number of times in this document. The information embodied in Bucarely's last-quoted letter appears also in the instructions. Besides, there were paragraphs concerning promised shipments of church utensils, another about adding to the buildings at San Francisco, another about appointment of a more competent store-keeper than Hermenegildo Sal, the incumbent, and another stating that a second mission ought to be erected.[6]

Thus we have seen how prominent a place the foundation and progress of San Francisco occupied in the viceroy's eyes. Nor

[1] A. G. de I., 104–6–18.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

was it confined to him; with the single exception of the proposed removal of Monterey, his superiors in Spain sustained him in every project that he advanced of those mentioned in this paper.[1] Much had been due, however, to the eager insistence of the viceroy himself. With the opening of the year 1777 a new hand was to direct the affairs of California, that province having been included in the new government of the frontier provinces under the inefficient Teodoro de Croix. Thus, though California had in Neve perhaps its most able Spanish governor, projects of conquest declined, and advancement of San Francisco got little attention. It had been otherwise under Bucarely. When the great city by the Golden Gate shall cast about for an early hero, let her consider the great viceroy, Bucarely, for to him more than to any one else is due the foundation of San Francisco and preservation of the settlement in its time of precarious beginnings.

[1] The following approvals not already referred to, may be noted, all citations being to A. G. de I.: By Arriaga, September 6, 1775, 104–6–16; July 8, 1775, Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 16; by Gálvez, December 24, 1776, 104–6–17; January 9, Feburary 18, and two of March 19, 1777, all four in 104–6–18.

NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA

FRENCH INTRUSIONS INTO NEW MEXICO, 1749–1752

HERBERT E. BOLTON

EARLY in the eighteenth century French *voyageurs*, *chasseurs*, and traders of Louisiana and Canada looked with covetous eyes toward New Mexico. To the adventurer it was a land promising gold and silver and a path to the South Sea; to the merchant it offered rich profits in trade. The three natural avenues of approach to this Promised Land were the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red rivers. But there were two obstacles to expeditions bound for New Mexico. One was the jealous and exclusive policy of Spain which made the reception of such Frenchmen as might reach Santa Fé a matter of uncertainty; the other was the Indian tribes which stood in the way. The Red River highway was effectually blocked by the Apache, mortal enemies of all the tribes along the lower valley; the Arkansas and Missouri River avenues were impeded by the Comanche for analogous reasons. It was not so much that the Apache and Comanche were averse to the entrance of French traders, as that the jealous enemies of these tribes opposed the passage of the traders to their foes with supplies of weapons. It is a matter of interest that in the nineteenth century the American pioneers found almost identical conditions in the same region.

As the fur traders and official explorers pushed rapidly west, one of their constant aims was to open the way to New Mexico by effecting peace between the Comanche and the tribes further east. In 1718–1719 La Harpe ascended the Red River and established the Cadodacho post; Du Rivage went seventy leagues further up the Red River; and La Harpe crossed over to the Touacara villages on the lower Canadian. At the same time DuTisné reached the Panipiquet, or Jumano, villages on the Arkansas, north of the Oklahoma line. Finding further advance

cut off by the hostility of the Jumano for the Comanche, he tried, but without avail, to effect a treaty between the tribes.[1] Two years later La Harpe reëstablished the Arkansas post, ascended the river half way to the Canadian, and urged a post among the Touacara, as a base for advance to New Mexico.[2] In 1723 Bourgmont erected a post among the Missouri tribe to protect the fur traders there, to check an advance by the Spaniards such as had been threatened by the Villazur expedition in 1720, and as a base for commerce with New Mexico. To open the way thither he led Missouri, Kansas, Oto, and Iowa chiefs to the Padoucah (Comanche), near the Colorado border of Kansas, effected a treaty between them, and secured permission for Frenchmen to pass through the Comanche country to the Spaniards.[3]

Shortly afterward the Missouri post was destroyed by Indians, the Missouri valley was made unsafe for a number of years by the Fox wars, and French advance westward was checked. Although there are indications that in the interim traders kept pushing up the Missouri, the next well known attempt to reach New Mexico was made in 1739. In that year the Mallet party of eight or nine men left the Missouri River at the Arikara villages, went south to the Platte River, ascended that stream, and made their way through the Comanche country to Taos and to Santa Fé. After being detained several months in friendly captivity, six or seven of the party returned, unharmed by the Spanish authorities, and bearing evidence that the residents of New Mexico would welcome trade. Four of the party descended the Canadian and Arkansas rivers, the others going northeast to the Illinois.

The Mallet party had succeeded in getting through the Comanche country to New Mexico and had returned in safety and with good prospects for trade — two important achievements. Immediately there was renewed interest in the Spanish border, on the part of both government officials and of private adven-

[1] Miss Anne Wendels, a graduate student at the University of California, has clearly shown that the Panis visited by DuTisné were on the Arkansas River southwest of the Osage, and that DuTisné did not, as is sometimes stated, pass beyond to the Padoucah. *French Interest in and Activities on the Spanish Border of Louisiana, 1717–1753*, Ms. thesis.

[2] Miss Wendels, in the paper cited above, has made a most careful study of the routes of La Harpe on this and his former expedition, with convincing results.

[3] For Bourgmont's route I follow Miss Wendels, who differs somewhat from Parkman, Heinrich, and others.

turers. At once, in 1741, Governor Bienville sent Fabry de la Bruyère, bearing a letter to the governor of New Mexico and guided by four members of the Mallet party, with instructions to retrace the steps of the latter, open up a commercial route, and explore the Far West.[1] Shortly afterward a new military post, called Fort Cavagnolle, was established on the Missouri at the Kansas village, and the Arkansas route was made safe by effecting in 1746 or 1747 a treaty between the Comanche and the Jumano.

The effect of the treaty was immediate, and at once there were new expeditions to New Mexico by deserters, private traders, and official agents. The fact that they occurred has only recently come to light. The incidents are so unknown to history, and reveal so many important facts concerning the New Mexico-Louisiana frontier, that they deserve narration, and have therefore occasioned this paper. Their records are contained in two *expedientes* in the archives of Mexico, discovered by the present writer.[2]

Before proceeding to the narration of these intrusions, a word further must be said regarding the position of the Comanche on the Spanish border. At that time the tribe roamed over the plains between the upper waters of the Red River and the Platte, the two divisions most frequently mentioned being the Padoucah and the Laitâne, or Naitane. They followed the buffalo for a living and had large droves of horses, mules, and even burros,

[1] *Lettre de MM. Bienville et Salmon*, April 30, 1741, in Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. 4, pp. 466–467; *Instructions données à Fabry de la Bruyère, ibid.*, pp. 468–470; *Extrait des lettres du sieur Fabry, à l'occasion du voyage projetes à Santa Fé, ibid.*, pp. 472–492; Wendels, *French Interests and Activities on the Spanish Border of Louisiana, 1717–1753*. After proceeding a short distance up the Canadian, Fabry was forced through lack of water for canoes to go back to the Arkansas post for horses. Returning, by way of the Cadodacho, he found that the Mallet brothers had continued toward Santa Fé, on foot. Giving up the project, Fabry crossed over from the Canadian to the Red River, where he visited the Tavakanas and Kitsaiches (Towakoni and Kichai), two of the tribes which La Harpe had found on the Canadian in 1719. The further adventures of the Mallets have not come to light, but it is known that in 1744 a Frenchman called Santiago Velo reached New Mexico. He was secretly despatched to Mexico by Governor Codallos y Rabal. Twitchell, R. E., *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. 1, p. 149.

[2] They are: (1) *Autos fhos sre averiguar que rumbo han ttraído ttrès franzeses que llegaron al Pueblo de taos con la Naz^n Cumanche q benian a hazer sus aconstumbrados resgattes. Juez, El S^r D^n Thomas Vélez, Gov^r de esta Provincia.* Archivo General y Público, Mexico, cited hereafter as *Autos fhos sre averiguar*. (2) *Testimonio de los Autos fhos a Consulta del Gov^r del nuebo Mex^co sobre haver llegado dos franzeses cargados de efectos que conduzian de la Nueba Orleans.* Archivo General y Público, Mexico, Provincias Internas, tomo 34. These *expedientes* consist of the declarations of the intruders, correspondence concerning them, documents confiscated from them, and records of proceedings in Mexico regarding them. Additional light is shed by some documents published in Twitchell's *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. 1, pp. 148–151.

which they bought or stole from the Spaniards. In order the better to exploit the buffalo and find pasturage, they lived scattered in small bands. They were bitter enemies of the Apache tribes living to the south,[1] and until shortly before had been hostile to the Jumano, Pawnee, and most of the other tribes to the eastward. Hemmed in by this wall of enemies, they had had little contact with the French, and had depended mainly upon the Spaniards of New Mexico for supplies. Their principal trading mart was Taos, where each spring they went in large numbers to attend a great fair, where they exchanged peltry and captives for horses, knives, and other merchandise.[2] In spite of this trade with the Spaniards, the Comanche were overbearing, and often stole horses and committed other depredations in the settlements. During the quinquennium of Governor Codallos y Rabal (1744–1749) they several times attacked Pecos and Galisteo, killing one hundred and fifty residents of Pecos alone. In view of this situation, Governor Vélez, the successor of Codallos, was forced to fortify and establish garrisons at both Pecos and Galisteo. Thus, the Comanche situation was already precarious before the peace with the Jumano and the coming of the French traders; and their advent made it worse.[3]

One of the trading parties which followed upon the Comanche alliance with the Jumano was among the former tribe early in 1748, but we know little of the history of the expedition. On February 27 of that year seven Comanches from a village on the Xicarilla River entered Taos and reported that thirty-three Frenchmen had come to their settlement and traded muskets for mules. All but two had gone back, but the two were waiting at the village to accompany the Comanche to the Taos fair. In consequence of the report Governor Codallos wrote the viceroy a letter in which he surmised some conspiracy between the Comanche and the French, recalled the destruction of the Villazur expedition in 1720 through French influence, pointed out the increased danger from the Comanche now that they were securing firearms, and

[1] Carlanes, Palomas, Chilpaines, Pelones, Natagés, and Faraones.

[2] Many of these facts concerning the Comanche situation are gleaned from the two *expedientes* cited above, note 5.

[3] Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín to the viceroy, Santa Fé, March 8, 1750, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, fol. 31.

proposed a military post on the Xicarilla River, the avenue of approach for both the Comanche and the French.[1]

So far as we know, the party of which Codallos wrote did not enter the New Mexico settlements, but this is not true of one which arrived the following spring. Near the end of his term, early in 1749, Codallos sent his lieutenant, Bernardo de Bustamante y Tagle, to attend the Taos fair. When he returned to Santa Fé on April 12 he brought with him three Frenchmen whom the Comanche had conducted to the fair and who had requested Bustamante to take them to the capital.[2] The new governor, Tomás Vélez Cachupín, had the strangers promptly lodged in the Palacio de Gobierno and duly interrogated. Since they did not know Spanish, they were questioned through an interpreter named Pedro Soutter, who was "sufficiently versed in the French language." The formal *interrogatorio* drawn up for the purpose contained fifteen points, and was quite typical of Spanish administrative thoroughness. It asked each of the strangers his name, marital status, religion, residence, his route in coming, the country and tribes passed through, the names, location, and condition of the French settlements, their relations with the Indians, the extent and nature of the fur trade, whether the French had mines, and numerous other items of interest to the frontier Spanish authorities.[3]

The first examination of the three strangers took place on April 13, another being held subsequently. Since the first statements were in some respects confused and indefinite, due in part, it was claimed, to the inefficiency of the interpreter, and since much new light is shed by the subsequent depositions, my narrative will be drawn from the two combined.[4]

[1] Antonio Durán de Armijo to Governor Codallos, Taos, February 27, 1748, in Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. 1, p. 148; Joaquin Codallos y Rabal to the viceroy, Santa Fé, March 4, 1748, *ibid.*, pp. 148–151.

[2] *Autto* of Vélez, April 12, 1749, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, ff. 1–2.

[3] *Notificacion y juramento de d[n] Pedro Souter* in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 2–3; "Ynterrogatorio," *ibid.*, 3–4.

[4] Declarations of the three Frenchmen, April 13, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 4–12; Vélez to the viceroy, June 19, 1749, in *ibid.*, 13–14; declarations of the three Frenchmen March 5, 1750, in *ibid.*, 16–20. They declared that the first of the three rancherías of Comanche comprised eighty-four tents and eight hundred persons; the second forty and the third twenty-three tents, with people in proportion. They declared that they saw five fusees among the Comanche, and that the Indians would not permit them to enter the village. The Comanche lived

As first recorded the names of the strangers were given as Luis del Fierro, Pedro Sastre, and Joseph Miguel; they later emerged as Luis Febre, Pedro Satren, or Latren, and Joseph Miguel Riballo. According to the declarations, Febre was twenty-nine years old, a native of New Orleans, and by trade a tailor and a barber. He had been a soldier at New Orleans, had deserted to Canada, going thence to Michillimackinac ("San Miguel Machina"), to Ysla Negra, Illinois (Silinue), and to the Arkansas post. Pedro Satren, forty-two years old, was a native of Quebec, where he had been a carpenter and a soldier. He had also been at Michillimackinac and at the Arkansas post, whence he had deserted after fifteen days' service. Riballo, twenty-four years old, was a native of Illinois, a carpenter by trade, and had been a soldier in Illinois and at the Arkansas post. All stated that they were bachelors and Catholics; none could sign their names. All claimed to have deserted from the Arkansas post because of harsh treatment. They had heard of New Mexico and its mines from certain Frenchmen who had returned from Santa Fé a few years before. They had been encouraged to make the attempt to reach it by the alliance made some two years before between the Jumano and the Comanche, which made it possible to go through the country of the latter. These statements illustrate clearly the effect of the safe return of the Mallet party and of the treaty between the Indian tribes.

The point of departure of the Febre party was a village of Arkansas (Zarca) Indians a short distance west of the post. From there twelve men had set out together in the fall of 1748. Going up the Napestle (Arkansas), they passed the two villages of the Jumano, to which point French traders went regularly in canoes to trade.[1] Being conducted from here by Jumano Indians, after going one hundred and fifty leagues they reached a Comanche settlement of three villages, where they remained some time, hunting with the Indians and being asked by them to join in a campaign against the A tribe. From the Comanche settlement

chiefly on buffalo but utilized some wild cattle for food. Deposition of Febre, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 6.

[1] In the depositions the two Panpiquet, or Jumano, villages were said to comprise about three hundred warriors, and the tribe to be fierce cannibals. *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 6–7.

Febre, Satren, and Riballo were conducted, in the course of a month, to the Taos fair, whence they were taken by Bustamante to Santa Fé, arriving there six months after setting out.[1] Upon reaching Santa Fé they were dispossessed of their fusees, lodged in the Real Palacio, and set to work.

Two months later (June 19) Governor Vélez made a report of the occurrence to the viceroy which is an interesting commentary upon the economic needs of the old Spanish outpost, and of the local attitude toward intruding foreigners who could add to the economic wellbeing of the province. At that time, Vélez said, the strangers were working quietly and proficiently at the Real Palacio, two of them being employed as carpenters, and Febre as tailor, barber, and blood-letter. He added, "since there is a lack of members of these professions in this villa and the other settlements of the realm . . . it would seem to be very advantageous that they should remain and settle in it, because of their skill in their callings, for they can teach some of the many boys here who are vagrant and given to laziness. It is very lamentable that the resident who now is employed as barber and blood-letter is so old that he would pass for seventy years of age; as for a tailor, there is no one who knows the trade directly. These are the three trades of the Frenchman named Luis. And resident carpenter there is none, for the structure of the houses, and repeated reports which I have from the majority of the inhabitants, manifest the lack of carpenters suffered in the province." In view of these conditions, the governor recommended that the Frenchmen be permitted to remain in New Mexico, promising to deport them to Mexico City if they should give cause.[2]

The governor's report reached Mexico in due time, and on August 29 was sent to the *auditor general de guerra*, the Marqués de Altamira, the man at the capital who at this epoch had most to do with the government of the provinces.[3] In view of the indefiniteness of the declarations of the three Frenchmen, particularly in matters of Louisiana geography, he was suspicious of their honesty, and he therefore advised that new depositions be

[1] Depositions of Febre, Satren, and Riballo, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*.
[2] Vélez to the viceroy, June 19, 1749, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 13–14.
[3] *Decreto* of the viceroy, *ibid.*, 13 (*bis*). It is to be noted that in the original the numbers 13 and 14 are repeated in the numbering of the folios.

taken. On the other hand, he approved the governor's request, and advised that the strangers be allowed to remain at Santa Fé to teach their trades, on condition that they be duly watched.[1]

The auditor's advice was acted upon, and on October 3 a despatch was sent to Governor Vélez.[2] It was in consequence of these instructions that new depositions were taken, March 5, 1750. The Frenchmen had been in Santa Fé nearly a year now, and no interpreter was necessary — at least none was officially appointed as had been the case before. The preëminence of Satren among the three is indicated by the fact that his was the only declaration written in full, the other two men saying little more than to subscribe to what he stated.[3] In his new deposition many of the shortcomings of the former were corrected and many new details added.

In the meantime seven other men from Louisiana had arrived at Santa Fé at different times. Satren declared them to be fur traders whom he knew, and that they had left Louisiana, like himself, in order to make a better living among the Spaniards.[4] Clearly, however, they were not of the party of twelve in which Satren had set out in 1748, for they left Arkansas a year later.

Among the newcomers was a Spaniard named Felipe de Sandoval, who made a deposition at Santa Fé on March 1, 1750, four days before the second declaration of Satren was given. According to his statement he had left Spain in 1742. Near Puerto Rico his vessel had been captured by the English and taken to Jamaica. After remaining there a prisoner for two years he fled on a French vessel to Mobile, going thence to New Orleans and to the Arkansas

[1] Altamira noted especially the fact that the deserters failed, in their descriptions of Louisiana, to mention the Natchitoches and Cadodacho posts. By a misreading he understood the declarations to state that New Orleans was six hundred leagues from the Mississippi River, whereas they meant that it was that distance from Santa Fé. Altamira also misunderstood the declarations to state that the Comanche settlements were one hundred and fifty leagues from Santa Fé. What they stated was that the settlements were that distance from the Jumano villages. Altamira, *dictamen*, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 13 (*bis*)–16. The numerals here and below refer to folios.

[2] *Decreto* of the viceroy, September 30, 1749, *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 15; memorandum, October 3, *ibid.*

[3] Declarations of Satren, Febre, and Riballo, March 5, 1750, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 16–20. Satren told in his new declaration of the military post among the Canse (Kansas) and stated that this was the tribe who "defeated the Spaniards who in the year twenty, to the number of twenty men, penetrated as far as this place under the command of Don Pedro de Billasur, this kingdom of New Mexico being then governed by Don Antonio de Balverde y Cosio," *ibid.*, 18.

[4] *Ibid.*, 19.

post (Los Sarcos). There he became a hunter. In all he remained in Louisiana five years.[1]

In Arkansas he learned of New Mexico through members of the Mallet party who had descended the Arkansas River. In the fall of 1749 he set out for New Mexico from the Arkansas post with six companions, one of whom was a German. Ascending the Napestle (Arkansas) River in canoes, at the end of fifty days they reached the Jumano settlement, where a French flag was flying. This tribe was at the time living in two contiguous villages of grass lodges, situated on the banks of the Napestle, surrounded with stockades and ditches. They were a settled tribe, raising maize, beans, and calabashes. According to Sandoval the two villages comprised five hundred men. At this time they were still at war with the Pananas (Pawnees). They were fierce cannibals, and while Sandoval was among them he saw them eat two captives. They had extensive commerce with the French, and a short time before Sandoval's visit they had received presents, including a French flag, from the *comandante general* of Louisiana. They had a few horses, which they had secured from the Comanche.[2]

After remaining twenty days with the Jumano, Sandoval's party set out, accompanied by twelve Indians. They went southward and then westward for twenty days, looking for the Comanche, but did not find them. At the end of that time Sandoval's companions turned back with the Jumano, leaving him alone. Soon becoming lost, he returned, by twelve days' travel, to the Jumano. His companions had not returned there.

After remaining with the Jumano a few days, Sandoval set out again, guided by a Comanche Indian who had gone to the Jumano to trade. Ascending the Napestle (Arkansas), at the end of forty days they reached a Comanche settlement at the foot of a mountain whence flowed the Rio Case (Canse, Kansas?). Here Sandoval remained four months, hunting with the Comanche. While at the village twenty Jumano and two Frenchmen came to trade. When the Jumano returned they left the Frenchmen,

[1] Declaration by Felipe de Sandoval, Santa Fé, March 1, 1750, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 21–24.

[2] Declaration by Sandoval, Santa Fé, March 1, 1750, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*.

who decided to accompany Sandoval to Santa Fé. In another party there arrived at the Comanche village a German and a French priest. There are indications that they were members of Sandoval's original party.[1] They, too, contemplated going on to Santa Fé, but the German, not being a Catholic, feared the Inquisition. Accordingly, after remaining nine days, they went back.

Sandoval and his two companions set out again, guided by a Comanche who was going to New Mexico to sell slaves to the Spaniards. Proceeding slowly for seven days to another Comanche village, and then three days through a difficult mountain, they reached Taos. Sandoval estimated the distance from Taos to the Jumano as twenty or twenty-five days northeast by east, and from the Jumano to the Arkansas post down the Napestle River by boat as nine days.

After taking the new depositions, on March 8, 1750, Governor Vélez reported again to the viceroy.[2] The burden of this communication, aside from a long geographical description,[3] was the

[1] In my transcript of Sandoval's declaration, it is stated that he left Arkansas with "four Frenchmen, a *sargente*, and a German" *ibid.*, fol. 21. In view of the presence of the *religionario* and the German among the Comanche I am led to suspect that *sargente* here is a miscopy for *religionario* or *religioso*.

[2] Governor Vélez Cachupín to the viceroy, Santa Fé, March 8, 1750, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 25–31.

[3] Governor Vélez's geographical statement is of great interest as showing the outlook from New Mexico at that time. The distance from New Mexico to Louisiana was commonly regarded as about two hundred leagues to the east, that to San Antonio, "of the government of Coaguila," as one hundred and fifty southeast. To the east and southeast were the Carlanes, Palomas, Chilpaines, Natagees, and Faraones, the last two tribes living to the south. To the northwest were the Comanches and Jumanes, the latter called by the French Panipiquees. The two tribes, now allied, made cruel war upon the Carlanes and other Apache bands above named. The entrance of the French into New Mexico was facilitated by the Comanche-Jumano alliance. The Río de Napestle, "well-known in this realm," had its source in a very rugged mountain range, about eighty leagues from Taos; the Arkansas was shallow in its upper reaches, but at the Jumano village, he had learned from the French, it was large, and farther down, after being joined by the Colorado (Canadian) it was still larger. Soldiers of New Mexico, in pursuit of Comanches, and led by Don Bernardo de Bustamante y Tagle, had reached the vicinity of the Jumano, following the banks of the Río de Napestle, "on which expedition were acquired adequate reports of those regions, in the summer very delectable and pleasing, and inhabited by innumerable buffalo, which the Divine Providence created for the support of the barbarians and the greed of Frenchmen." To the north of New Mexico, in the rugged mountains, at a distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues, were the nations of Chaguaguas, and less remote, the Yutas, with whom also the Comanche were at war. For this reason they (meaning the Comanche, I understand) went northwest, joined the Moachos and fought with the settlements of New Mexico, namely the Navajoo, Zuñi and Moqui. From reports given by the Moachos it was thought that to the northwest the sea was less then two hundred leagues distant.

danger to New Mexico arising from the new alliance between the Comanche and the tribes of the east, the danger of Comanche attacks on New Mexico, and the bad policy of Governor Mendoza in permitting the Mallet party, "who were the first who entered," to return after having spied out the land. "I regard as most mischievous the permission given to the first Frenchmen to return," he said, because "they gave an exact account and relation, informing the Governor of Louisiana of their route, and the situation and conditions of New Mexico." He was convinced, moreover, that it was French policy which had "influenced the minds of the Jumanes or Panipiquees to make peace with the Comanches, recently their enemies, with the purpose of being able to introduce themselves by the Rio de Napestle, thus approaching near to New Mexico." None of the newcomers were soldiers, he said, but all were paid hunters, in the employ of fur merchants. Now that they knew the way, he feared that they would come with increasing frequency, "which to me appears less dangerous to these dominions than that they should return to their colonies with complete knowledge of and familiarity with the lands inspected through their insolence." Better distribute them, he thought, as settlers in Nueva Vizcaya or Sonora, without permission to return, especially since all were good artisans, already at work at their trades, and since they were crack shots, and therefore would be very useful in defending the provinces against the Indians.

The governor's report reached Mexico by August, and on January 9, 1751, Altamira reviewed the whole matter.[1] The new depositions of Satren and his companions satisfied him on geographical matters. In view of what Vélez had written, he urged keeping out the French, on the one hand, and the opening of communication between New Mexico and Texas, on the other.[2]

[1] On August 14 it was sent to Altamira, the *auditor general de la guerra*. On September 14 Altamira asked for the documents relating to previous French intrusions into New Mexico, and on the 16th the viceroy ordered them furnished. *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 25. On November 18 a *testimonio* of the governor's report was made. Memorandum, *ibid.*, 31.

[2] Altamira estimated that from Santa Fé to Los Adaes it was less than two hundred leagues, and still less from Albuquerque or El Paso, "and it would be very fitting that the transit and communication be facilitated from one province to the other, in order that with mutual and reciprocal aid of arms, intervening tribes who persecute both realms, should be forced into subjection, which would be aided greatly

He approved, also, sending to the interior the six new intruders and others who might come later, designating Sonora as the place, because it was the most remote possible from Louisiana.[1] On January 14 the viceroy approved the recommendation, and on the 31st the corresponding despatch was written.[2]

Two distinct parties of Frenchmen had thus entered New Mexico in less than a year by the Arkansas River. They were soon followed by others over the northern route. In the meantime the Jumano had made peace with the Pawnee (Panana) and had secured an alliance of the Comanche with the Pawnee and even with the A tribe.[3] In these arrangements the French no doubt had a hand, as in the case with the earlier Comanche-Jumano treaty.

In 1751 four traders from New Orleans reached New Mexico by way of the Missouri River, it is said, but who they were and what the circumstances of their journey has not yet come to light.[4] In the following year, however, another party came by that route concerning whom our information is quite complete. This expedition, it will be seen, had official sanction in Louisiana.[5]

On August 6, 1752, two Frenchmen arrived at the cemetery of the mission of Pecos, bearing a white flag, and conducted by Jicarilla and Carlana Apaches whom they had encountered fifteen leagues before, on the Gallinas River. They had nine horses and nine tierces of cloth, or of clothing. Father Juan Joseph Toledo, missionary at Pecos, deposited the merchandise in the convent of the mission, and at once wrote to the governor. Fray Juan was clearly not a French scholar, for the names of the strangers he wrote as Xanxapij and Luis Fxuij. In later correspondence they emerged as Jean Chapuis and Luis Feuilli (also Foissi).[6]

by practical acquaintance with the watering places, pastures, and other features of that unknown intervening space," *ibid.*, 26.

[1] Altamira, *dictamen*, January 9, 1751, in *Autos fhos sre averiguar*, 25–30.

[2] *Decreto*, January 14, 1751, *ibid.*, 30. On January 25, a *testimonio* of the *expediente* was made and deposited in the archives of the Secretaría del Vireynato. Memoranda, January 14, *ibid.*

[3] According to the Spanish documents these tribes were now making war on the Kansas and Osage. *Testimonio de los Autos* (see note 5), fol. 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, 11.

[5] The account of this party is gleaned from the *expediente* entitled *Testimonio de los Autos fhos a Consulta del Govr del nuebo Mexco sobre haver llegado dos frànzeses cargados de efectos que conduzian de la Nueba orleans*, hereafter cited as *Testimonio de los Autos*.

[6] Fray Juan Joseph Toledo to Governor Vélez, Pecos, August 6, 1752, in *Testimonio de los Autos*, 2.

Father Toledo's message was received at Santa Fé on the day when it was written, and the *alcalde mayor* of Pecos and Galisteo, Don Tomás de Sena, who happened to be at the capital, was at once sent to conduct the Frenchmen thither. Next day he returned with the strangers and their goods. Their papers were confiscated, and on the 9th their depositions were taken, Luis Febre, who by now was "slightly versed in the Spanish tongue," acting as interpreter. From the confiscated documents, the declarations, and the related correspondence, we learn the following story of the advent of Chapuis and Feuilli into the forbidden territory.[1]

Chapuis, forty-eight years old, was a native of France and a resident of Canada. On July 30, 1751, he had secured a passport from the commander at Michillimackinac, Duplessis Falberte, permitting him to return to Illinois to attend to his affairs, and to embark the necessary goods to sell in Illinois — those later confiscated at Santa Fé. Reaching Ft. Chartres, he conferred with the commander, Benoit de St. Clair (Santa Clara in the documents), relative to opening a trade route to New Mexico, his object being to deal in fabrics. St. Clair encouraged the enterprise, and on October 6, 1751, issued a license to Chapuis and nine other men to "make the discovery of New Mexico and carry the goods which they may think proper," permitting Chapuis to carry a flag, and commanding the men not to separate till they should reach their destination. Chapuis was therefore the recognized leader of the expedition, which had a semi-official sanction. As transcribed into Spanish records, the names of the others mentioned in the license were Roy, Jeandron, Foysi, Aubuchon, Calve, Luis Trudeau, Lorenzo Trudeau, Betille, and Du Charme.[2]

Feuilli was evidently not at Ft. Chartres at the time when the license was issued, but joined Chapuis at the Kansas (Canzeres) Indian village,[3] said to be one hundred and fifty leagues from

[1] *Decreto* of the governor, Santa Fé, August 6, 1752, *ibid.*, 9; *Obedecimiento* by Thomas de Sena, Alcalde Mayor and Capitan á guerra of Pecos and Galisteo, Santa Fé, August 7, 1752, *ibid.*, 9. *Decreto* of the governor, Santa Fé, August 8, *ibid.*, 9–10; *Juramento del Interprete*, August 8, *ibid.*, 10.

[2] Declaration of Juan Chapuis, August 9, 1752, *ibid.*, 10–14; license signed by Benito de Santa Clara (translation), Fuerte de la Charte, October 6, 1751, *ibid.*, 8; license signed by Duplesis Falberte, Fuerte de San Phelipe de Michilimacinac, July 30, 1751, *ibid.*, 8.

[3] In his first declaration Feuilli stated that he joined Chapuis at the Kansas

Ft. Chartres, where for eight years he had been official interpreter in the pay of the king of France, and where, during the same period, there had been a detachment from Ft. Chartres. The Kansas detachment is called in the documents Fuerte Cavagnol.[1] Where the other eight men joined Chapuis does not appear.

Chapuis set out promptly, and on December 9, 1751, was at Fuerte Cavagnol. On the way thither, or after reaching there, he passed among and traded with the Osages and Missouris, who, together with the Kansas, comprised five villages, all under French domination maintained by soldiery. At Fuerte Cavagnol Chapuis formed a partnership with Feuilli, "to go together to Spain, under contract to arrive during the month of April near the settlements of Spain, beyond Sta Bacas," Chapuis agreeing to advance to Feuilli four hundred pounds in merchandise for the journey, on condition that if Feuilli should break the agreement he should pay Chapuis five hundred pounds. Feuilli could not sign his name. The agreement was witnessed by Pedro and Lorenzo Trudeau. On the same day Feuilli acknowledged a debt to Chapuis of four hundred and nine pounds, due in the following April, to be paid in beaver skins or other peltry, at the price current at Fuerte Cavagnol.[2]

Leaving the Kansas about the middle of March, 1752, the party continued to the Pawnee (Panana). Either there or at the Comanche[3] eight of the men turned back,[4] through fear of the Comanche, who could not be trusted. The two partners continued to the Comanche, who levied a heavy toll upon them as a condition of letting them pass, but having received liberal presents

post, *ibid.*, 13; but in the later one he stated that he left "the city of Los Ylinueses" in October, 1751, which was about the time that Chapuis set out *ibid.*, 36.

[1] Declaration of Feuilli, *ibid.*, 13.

[2] Agreement between Juan Chapuis and Luis Foissi, Fuerte Cavagnol, December 9, 1751, *ibid.*, 3; acknowledgment of debt by Luis Foissi, December 9, 1715, *ibid.*, 3. Among the papers found in the possession of Chapuis and Feuilli at Santa Fé were two which throw further light on their operations. One was a letter signed by Languemin to an unnamed person, requesting him to aid Chapuis in recovering a slave sold by the former to the latter, and saying, "I have delivered thirty pounds of merchandise to the said Chapuis to give to the savages. I will give more if necessary. I would have gone myself to —— if the Truteaus had not gone up." Another was a letter by Foissi (Feuilli) to Señor Moreau to come and report what was happening in the district, *ibid.*, 4.

[3] Feuilli stated that it was four and a half months from the time of leaving the Kansas to that of arriving at Pecos, *ibid.*, 14.

[4] There is a discrepancy in the documents regarding the place where the eight turned back.

they directed them to New Mexico. From a point north of the Arkansas they were guided by an Ae Indian who had been a captive in New Mexico and was fleeing, and whom they induced to return with them as guide, bringing them in from the north. At the Gallinas River, fifteen leagues from Pecos, they met Jicarilla and Carlana Apaches, who conducted them to the Pecos mission, which they reached, as we have seen, on August 6, forty days after leaving the Comanche, four and one half months after leaving the Kansas, and ten months after leaving Ft. Chartres.[1]

In the course of the interrogation by Governor Vélez, Chapuis explained that his plan for trade was to convey goods up the Panana (Missouri) River by canoes, to the neighborhood of New Mexico, and thence by caravan, with horses bought from the Pawnee and Comanche. On account of risk from the Comanche, "in whom they have not complete confidence," they would escort each caravan with fifty or sixty soldiers. Feuilli stated that by leaving the Missouri to the left (*sic*), it would not need to be crossed. The other six rivers, excluding the Mississippi, he said, could be forded by horses. In a later statement Feuilli said that the goods could be taken in canoes up the Panana River to the Panana Indians, thence to New Mexico by horses bought from that tribe for the trade, a distance of three hundred leagues.[2] On being informed that their project was entirely illegal, both Chapuis and Feuilli emphatically declared that they were ignorant of the fact, and had supposed that by paying duties they might trade. Having learned that such was not the case, they begged permission to go back to report to their commander.

But their request was not granted. On the contrary, Governor Vélez decided to send the intruders to Mexico. Their goods were confiscated, put up at auction for three days, and sold to Thomas Ortiz, a cattle ranchman, for 404 *pesos*, 3 *reales*, 11 *granos*, the proceeds being devoted to defraying the expenses and conducting the prisoners to the capital. Of the amount the governor himself took one hundred *pesos* for the expenses incurred in New Mexico. On the 18th Vélez reported the incident to the viceroy,

[1] Governor Vélez to the viceroy, September 18, 1752, *ibid.*, 24; declaration of Feuilli, Mexico City, November 23, 1753, *ibid.*, 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, 12, 38.

and expressed renewed fear at the Comanche alliance with the eastern tribes. About the first of October the prisoners were sent south, in charge of Pedro Romero, of El Paso, and on October 29 they reached Chihuahua. From there they were conducted to Mexico by Lorenzo Álvarez Godoy, "muleteer of the Mexican route," who received fifty *pesos* for the service.[1]

In January, 1753, the governor's report was handed to Altamira, who in return expressed the fear that the proposed trade was a pretext for "other hidden and more pernicious ends." The matter being referred to Dr. Andreu, the fiscal, it was July before he replied. The original declarations of the Frenchmen were then handed to a translator. Meanwhile the prisoners were languishing in jail and clamoring for release. In November Andreu again took up the matter and had new depositions taken from the foreigners. They contained a few contradictions and a few additions to the former stories.[2]

Immediately after the declarations were taken, orders were issued requiring kind treatment given the prisoners, and on January 18, 1754 the fiscal gave his opinion. Since the Frenchmen had come to open up a trade route with the permission of a French official, one of them being in the pay of the French king, he recommended that the prisoners be sent at once to Spain, in order that the king might decide the matter. On the 19th this recommendation was approved by the viceroy.[3]

The French advance through the Comanchería at this time, encouraged as it was by Governor Bienville and the commandant St. Clair, gives significance to the proposal of Governor Kerlérec of Louisiana, in 1753, to break through the Apache barrier and open up trade with the more interior provinces of Mexico. In a mémoire addressed to the king in that year the new governor spoke of Spain's jealous frontier policy, the weakness of her out-

[1] Governor Vélez to the viceroy, September 18, 1752, *ibid.*, 24; declaration of Feuilli, Mexico City, November 23, 1753; *ibid.*, 14–24, 29–30, 37.

[2] *Decretos* of the viceroy, January 12, 1753; *Dictamen* of the *auditor*, January 12, 1753; *Respuesta fiscal*, July 28, 1753; *Decreto* of the viceroy, July 30, 1753; *escripto* by the prisoners; *Dictamen fiscal*, November 15, 1753; *Citación* de *Interprete*, November 21, 1753; Deposition of the prisoners, November 21–23, 1753; *Notorio al Alcalde*, November 23, 1753; *Respuesta fiscal*, January 18, 1753, *ibid.*, 24–25; 32–40.

[3] *Projet de Paix et D'Alliance avec les Cannecis et les Avantages qui en Peuvent Résulter Envoyé par Kerlérec, Gouverneur de la Province de la Loüisianne, en 1753*, in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, vol. 3, pp. 67–76.

posts, and the ease with which the mines of Coahuila and Nuevo León could be conquered. As a base for securing them in case of any rupture, he proposed taking possession of the country of the Apache, at present attached neither to Spain nor France, he said. But unless peace were established between the Apache and all their numerous enemies to the eastward, access to their country would be impossible. He proposed, therefore, to remove the barrier to the Apachería by securing an alliance between the Apache and these eastern enemies. Under the existing circumstances of the French monarchy, it is not strange that the proposal was never made the basis of a program, but the fact that it was made at all is significant.[1]

These intrusions of Frenchmen into New Mexico were closely bound up, in their effect upon Spanish policy, with similar infringements upon the Texas border, which had been going on with greater or less freedom for many years, and the noise made by the incursions over the New Mexico border found its loudest echo on the Texas frontier. In 1751, when the doings of the Febre party in New Mexico were reported to the king of Spain, they were considered together with the Louisiana-Texas question. As a result of the deliberations, on June 26, 1751, it was ordered that French intruders in the Spanish dominions be prevented from returning to their country under any pretext whatsoever. The viceroy was ordered to keep vigilant watch of the operations of the French nation, and, if necessary, to order the commandant of Louisiana to abandon the Presidio of Natchitoches and Isla de los Labores, "without using the force of arms for the present, in case he should resist it, in order not to cause disturbances and obligations on those frontiers which might become paramount in Europe." [2]

In the course of the next two or three years complaints regarding

[1] *Instruccion Reservada que Trajo el Marquéz de las Amarillas*, Aranjuez, July 30, 1755 (Capitulo 8 summarizes previous proceedings), in *Instrucciones que los Vireyes de Nueva España Dejaron a sus Sucesores* (Mexico, 1867), pp. 96–97.

[2] *Testimº de Autos de Pesquiza sobre comercio Ylicito y Demas que expresa el superior Despacho que esta por caveza de ellos, Adais, 1751*, Béxar Archives, Adaes, 1739–1755; Report of Investigation of French trade by DeSoto Vermúdez, under direction of Gov. Barrios, 1752–1753, in Archivo General y Público, Mexico, *Historia*, vol 299; *Testimonio de autos fechos en virtud de Superior Decreto Expedido por el exmo Señor Dn Juan Franco de Güemes y Horcasitas*, etc., September 26, 1752, Béxar Archives, Adaes, 1739–1755.

French aggressions on the Texas border grew apace. Barrios y Jáuregui, Governor of the province, made investigations, reported that the French were operating freely among all the tribes of northeastern Texas, and that the Spaniards were at the mercy of the French, who absolutely controlled the natives who were held in check only by Louis de St. Denis, the younger. As offsets, Barrios proposed that Spaniards be permitted to sell firearms to the Indians, that freedom be promised to slaves escaping from Louisiana, and that a presidio be established on the San Pedro River, a branch of the Neches, from which to watch the French traders.[1]

This was the situation in January, 1754, when it was decided in Mexico to send Chapuis and Feuilli to Spain. Immediately thereafter (January 21–22) the viceroy held a *junta* to consider the royal order of June 26, 1751, together with the related affairs of Texas and New Mexico. It was decided for the present to make no move to drive the French across the Red River, since it was not certain whether that stream or Gran Montaña was the boundary. For the same reason the sending of an engineer to mark the boundary, which had been suggested, was regarded as unnecessary. Barrios's proposal that Louisiana slaves be publicly offered their liberty was declared to be in bad taste, and further consideration was regarded as necessary before acting upon his plan for a presidio on the San Pedro. But Barrios was ordered to keep watch that the French should not extend their boundaries; French interpreters must be recalled from villages on Spanish soil, and Governor Barrios, "with his discretion, industry, vigilance, and prudence must try to prevent the commerce of the French with the Indians of Texas, observing what the governor of New Mexico had practiced in the matter, with the idea of preventing the Indians from communicating with them." [2]

This decision of the *junta de guerra* in Mexico bore fruit in the arrest by Barrios, in the fall of 1754, of the French traders, Joseph

[1] *Instruccion Reservada*, July 30, 1755, in *Instrucciones que los Vireyes de Nueva España Dejaron a sus Sucesores*, pp. 96–97.

[2] This episode is discussed at length by Bolton, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 16, pp. 339–378. The connection between the *junta* of January 21–22, 1754, and the arrest of Blancpain is shown in *Expediente sobre la aprehencion . . . de tres Franceses*, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Guadalajara, 103–6–23, a copy of which I secured through Mr. W. E. Dunn.

Blancpain and his associates, on the Texas coast, near the Trinity River, and the establishment there soon after, of a Spanish presidio and mission, as means of holding back the French. Thus the whole French border question, from Santa Fé to the mouth of the Trinity, was treated as one.

The French intrusion into New Mexico found another echo in Sonora. On March 2, 1751, Fernándo Sánchez Salvador, Captain of Cuirassiers of Sonora and Sinaloa, cited the French advance westward as a reason for haste in the Spanish occupation of the Colorado of the West. He was convinced that the French traders had ulterior ends and that they would soon reach the Colorado and descend it to the South Sea unless impeded by a Spanish advance.[1]

[1] Sánchez thought that the Carmelo River, of California, was a western mouth of the Colorado. *Cuarta Representacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, III Ser., vol. 3, pp. 662–663.

SPEECH MIXTURE IN NEW MEXICO: THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE ON NEW MEXICAN SPANISH

Aurelio M. Espinosa

New Mexico was first colonized by the Spaniards in 1598, when Juan de Oñate conquered the country and occupied it in the name of Spain. The Indian rebellion of the year 1680 put an end to this first attempt at colonization. All the Spanish inhabitants who were not killed by the Indians fled to the province of northern Mexico. In 1693, however, the country was reconquered and permanently colonized under the leadership of Diego de Vargas. From 1693 to 1846, when the territory was invaded and occupied by the American army, New Mexico was the home of a Spanish speaking colony, which was often quite isolated from the culture centers of New Spain.

The admission of Texas as a state by the United States of North America in the year 1845, in open defiance to the Mexican government to which this territory had by right belonged since the Mexican independence, was the immediate cause of the Mexico-American war, which ended in the cession by Mexico to the United States of the vast Spanish territory now comprised in the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico and part of Colorado, in the year 1848. The territory of New Mexico, which had been the permanent home of a Spanish speaking population since 1693, and which at the time of the American occupation included also what is now Arizona and part of Colorado and had a Spanish population of over 75,000 people, was invaded in 1846 by General Kearny, who entered New Mexico by the Santa Fé trail and took Santa Fé without resistance. New Mexico was formally occupied, a provisional government was established

and the territory declared a part of the United States of North America.

The New Mexican people offered no resistance whatsoever. General Armijo who had been charged with the defense of the country, finding his soldiers unprepared and too few to meet the American invaders, fled to Mexico, and the people, accustomed to revolutions and frequent political changes since the Mexican independence of 1810, accepted the new régime not only without resistance but even with pleasure, at least in some quarters. That the invaders were not everywhere welcome, however, is evident from the fact that only two years after the American occupation, in 1848, an anti-American revolt in Taos resulted in the murder of the American governor and the killing of many of the American settlers. American settlers, who had begun to enter the territory since the early part of the nineteenth century, came in large numbers after the American invasion of 1846, from the South and middle West, and in a few years the country was, politically, partly Americanized, since when the New Mexican people have been obliged to live in a reluctant but necessary submission.

For some seventy years, therefore, the Spanish people of New Mexico have been in continuous, direct, and necessary contact with English speaking people. Race antagonism has always been very pronounced, especially among the lower classes of both races, although they have freely intermarried and race fusion has been gradually taking place. These intermarriages were, relatively speaking, much more frequent in the first years of the American occupation, when young soldiers, merchants and adventurers from the southern and middle-western states settled in New Mexico and almost invariably and of necessity (there being very few American women) married Spanish women. From the Louisiana territory there came also after the early thirties many French settlers and many of these also remained in New Mexico and married Spanish women.

With the introduction of the railroads and the very rapid commercial progress of the last thirty years, together with the rapid growth of large cities and towns in New Mexico, there has come a check in the race fusion and the mutual contact and good feeling between the two peoples. This check has been caused,

in part, also, by the great influx into New Mexico of peoples of other nationalities, especially Jews and Italians. In the new cities, such as Albuquerque, East Las Vegas, Silver City and Roswell, where the English speaking people are numerically superior, the Spanish people are looked upon as an inferior race and intermarriages are not very frequent at the present time. In some instances the high-browed Americans who in these cities look down on the New Mexican-Spanish inhabitants, are low class Jews and poor Americans who have become wealthy in New Mexico by very questionable methods. Outside of a few of these very recent American cities, however, the Spanish element is still the all important and predominant one. Santa Fé, Taos, Socorro, Las Cruces, Tomé, West Las Vegas and a score of other smaller towns and many more villages are predominantly Spanish and in these places the English influence in language, customs and habits of life is very insignificant. Some of the very isolated places like Taos and Santa Fé are yet thoroughly Spanish and will continue so, perhaps, for more than a century.[1]

At the time of the American occupation of New Mexico in 1846, the entire Spanish population of what is now New Mexico and southern Colorado was about 50,000. By 1885, or some forty years after the American occupation, the Spanish population of these regions had risen to 100,000, while the English speaking people numbered less than 40,000. The rapid influx and rise of the American population did not become important until after 1880, or after the introduction of the railroads and other means of rapid transportation and communication. At present, the Spanish people of New Mexico number about 175,000 or about one half of the entire population of the state. In southern Colorado the Spanish people number about 50,000. The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico and southern Colorado, or the New Mexican territory, which is the special object of our present study, number, therefore, about 225,000.[2]

[1] The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico and Colorado are descendants of the old Spanish families which entered the country with the *conquistadores* in 1598 and 1693. They very rarely intermarried with the native Indian population and are, therefore, in every sense of the word, Spanish. See also, *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, Part I, pp. 334, 335.

[2] My previous estimate was a little exaggerated. See *The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Southern Colorado* (Santa Fé, New Mexico, 1911), p. 17, and *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 1.

In the region in question, therefore, the Spanish and English speaking inhabitants are very evenly divided, numerically. The inhabitants of both races, however, are not everywhere evenly divided. Some of the very recent cities like Albuquerque and Roswell have twenty Americans to one Spaniard, while in cities like Taos and Tierra Amarilla the figures are easily reversed. The remote mountain districts of New Mexico are settled entirely by Spanish people and there is not found one American to fifty Spanish inhabitants. A very large portion of the New Mexican territory, therefore, has not yet come under the influence of American institutions, in spite of the fact that the public school system makes an attempt to introduce everywhere the use of English.

The New Mexico public school system dates from the year 1896. Since that time there has been a systematic attempt to have the English language taught in all the schools. Sometimes the American authorities have been very bitter in denouncing the use of Spanish in some of the country schools and in their enthusiasm for the English language have gone so far as to forbid the use of Spanish by the Spanish children during their play. All such measures have been fruitless. The fact of the matter is that previous to 1896, and in many instances even at the present time, Spanish has been taught in the private and public schools, and has been considered far more important than English; and where there were no schools, parents who could read and write taught their children to read and write in Spanish. At present, although the school laws demand the use of English in the public schools, in many places, where all the pupils and even the teacher are Spanish, more Spanish is taught than English, and the whole atmosphere of the school is decidedly Spanish.[1] The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico have been, therefore, very zealous about the use of their native speech, and in spite of the present intellectual and commercial superiority of their American neighbors, have not abandoned their language, re-

[1] In the summer of 1910 I had charge of the four weeks' Teachers' Institute of Socorro County in central New Mexico. There were in attendance some twenty-five school teachers, all but four Spanish, and of the twenty-one who were Spanish, not one half could carry on correctly an ordinary conversation in the English language. They taught in districts where only Spanish is spoken and gave some of the instruction in Spanish.

ligion, customs, and habits of life. As to language, not one in a hundred is found who has entirely abandoned the use of Spanish and taken up English in his home. This fact speaks eloquently for the tenacity and vigor of Spanish tradition and culture.

With the new generation, however, and especially with the new Spanish population of the cities and towns where the Spanish and American inhabitants are evenly divided, the problem is becoming fundamentally different. The Spanish school children of the predominantly American cities and towns like Roswell, Albuquerque, East Las Vegas, etc., speak English as well as the English speaking people and speak very poor Spanish. The growth of the English influence in the schools has been, therefore, the greatest recent factor in the gradual encroachment of the English language on the Spanish language in New Mexico and southern Colorado. This is not, however, the only factor. The Americanization of the country has brought with it the introduction of all American institutions with their modes of expression. In many fields of activity and intercourse, for example, in commerce, political institutions, and machinery, the Spanish people readily adopted the English terminology, in many cases having no Spanish equivalents.

Of the entire New Mexican-Spanish population of New Mexico and southern Colorado, about 75,000, or one third of the population, is entirely ignorant of the English language. Most of these are people above fifty years of age. Of the people under forty years of age nine out of ten have been in the public schools and speak English fairly well. There are, of course, great differences, if one distinguishes between town and country districts, social classes, etc. In some isolated districts and towns not ten per cent of the Spanish inhabitants speak English. In cities where the American influence is great the figures are easily reversed. But even where English is not wide-spread among the Spanish inhabitants the English influence, especially in language, is strong, for reasons already stated. Even in cases where race pride and the love of the mother tongue have been decidedly contrary to the acceptance of the English language, the necessary commercial and political intercourse with English speaking peoples, the introduction of American machinery, farming implements, house-

hold articles, etc., many of these of recent invention and previously unknown to the New Mexicans, and lastly, as we have said, the compulsory introduction of the English language in the schools, have of necessity caused the introduction of a large English vocabulary into New Mexican Spanish.

It is no easy matter to determine through what channels the English words have found their way into New Mexican Spanish. The way the words have been introduced has been in many cases, no doubt, associated with the time of introduction, although this is, generally speaking, as yet an unimportant matter. Such words as *cute* < COAT, *rinque* < DRINK, *jolón* < HOLD ON, *bogue* < BUGGY, queque < CAKE, *escrepa* < SCRAPER, jaira < HARROW, *reque* < RAKE, *jarirú* < HOW DO YOU DO, *esteble* < STABLE, *greve* < GRAVY, *broquis* < BROKE, *craque* < CRACKER, *parna* < PARTNER, are words of extremely wide usage, belong to general terminology, and must have been introduced in the early years of the American occupation. Such words as *boila* < BOILER, *breca* < BRAKE, *cabús* < CABOOSE, *chequiar* < CHECK, *espaique* < SPIKE, *guiangue* < GANG, *pulman* < PULLMAN, *reque* < WRECK, *suichi* < SWITCH, *taya* < TIE, *troca* < TRUCK, *yarda* < YARD, belong exclusively to the railroad vocabulary and have been introduced into New Mexican Spanish since this institution came to New Mexico or after 1880. In the same way, it seems fairly reasonable to suppose that such words as *esmart* < SMART, *felo* < FELLOW, *besbol* < BASEBALL, *crismes* < CHRISTMAS, *espichi* < SPEECH, *fain* < FINE, *fone* < FUNNY, *ful* < FOOL, *espeliar* < SPELL, *juipen* < WHIPPING, *rede* < READY, have been introduced through the public school channels and are of very recent introduction. Many social terms and words that have to do with recent factory and city employment terminology, such as *pare* < PARTY, *jaque* < HACK, *piquenique* < PICNIC, *quiande* < CANDY, *aiscrím* < ICE-CREAM, *sangüichi* < SANDWICH, *sete* < SET, *sute* < SUIT, *londre* < LAUNDRY, *somil* < SAW-MILL, *polís* < POLICE, *lonchi* < LUNCH, *ğobe* < JOB, *cambasiar* < CANVASS, *bil* < BIL, *chachar* < CHARGE, *esprês* < EXPRESS, are also, clearly, of very recent origin.

The English influence on New Mexican Spanish has been slow and gradual. As a rule, the English words adopted have no Spanish equivalent. In most cases the adoption of the English word has

not been a case of fashion, luxury in speech, neglect of Spanish, or mere desire of imitating the language of the invaders, but an actual convenience and necessity. Of the entire New Mexican-Spanish vocabulary of English source by far more than 50 per cent of the words have been introduced since the year 1880, or rather within the last thirty-five years.

The New Mexican-Spanish vocabulary of English source is very unequally distributed throughout New Mexico and Colorado. Of the entire vocabulary, perhaps 50 per cent is of general use among the Spanish inhabitants, while the other 50 per cent is used only by those who are continually in daily and necessary contact with English speaking people in the cities or places and institutions where certain special vocabularies are in constant use. The mechanic who works in the railroad shops uses continually and unconsciously such words as *šopes* < SHOPS, *estraique* < STRIKE, *estiple* < STAPLE, *boila* < BOILER, *forman* < FOREMAN, *guaša* < WASHER, *reile* < RAIL, and a score or more of other words peculiar to his trade, words absolutely unknown to the New Mexican wood-seller or inhabitant of the mountain districts. The same applies to other trades and professions.

It is a surprising thing, however, to observe the general diffusion of a large part of the English borrowed words. Words that are once adopted and which become phonetically Spanish, become a part of the New Mexican-Spanish vocabulary and no one is cognizant of their English source. The New Mexicans who come from the mountain districts, or from the remote country villages and who speak only Spanish, and on arriving at a town enter a drug store to ask, '*Quier' una boteit'e penquila* (< PAIN-KILLER, a patent medicine), or a saloon to ask, '*Quier' un frasquitu e juisque* (< WHISKEY), are speaking, as far as they are concerned, pure Spanish.

Besides the use of the regularly developed words of English source, there presents itself in the cities where English is predominant the problem of actual speech mixture. In the streets, in the factories, shops, stores, and other places of employment and amusement, and even in the homes, especially when all those in the family can speak good English, one continually hears the New Mexican-Spanish people speaking Spanish and English mixed.

In such cases regular English words and phrases are used mingled with Spanish words and phrases. The part of speech least used in such mixtures is the verb, which when used at all is regularly developed and takes the Spanish verb endings. The line between the regularly developed New Mexican-Spanish words of English source and the English words and phrases used at random and with the usual English inflection, is, as a rule, easy to draw. On the other hand this very kind of speech mixture is at present the great factor in introducing English words into New Mexican Spanish. A word frequently used, even if known to be English by those who use it, can be easily adopted as a regular Spanish word.

The kind of speech mixture which brings into the Spanish of New Mexico the use of regular English words and phrases has no fixed limits and cannot follow regular laws. There is no limit to the use of such curious phenomena, and they are most common among those who work in the cities, the school children and the educated who know English well. Even the uneducated, however, partake in this phenomenon, so that the English influence on the Spanish language of New Mexico and Colorado is very strong in various ways. It has introduced some 300 regular hispanized words of English source,[1] has caused the curious speech mixture of which we have just spoken, and has influenced the syntax of the Spanish language itself.[2]

Since the examples of the speech mixture just mentioned could be multiplied almost *ad libitum*, I made no systematic attempt to record all those heard. As in most such cases the English words or phrases used remain unchanged, there seemed no great value for the philologist in collecting examples. A few of those which are found among my notes are the following:

[1] This number does not include derivations. One single noun of English origin may give two or even three or more derivatives, so that counting in all derivatives, including diminutives, augmentatives and post-verbal nouns, the number of words of English origin may easily reach 600 or more. In the number above given, 300 words of English origin, are included only basic words developed in *tota forma* from the English original, such as *quique* < KICK, a regular phonetic development, whereas *quiquiada*, *quiquiadita*, *quiquiadera* are derivatives which have Spanish endings.

[2] An English influence similar to the one found in New Mexican Spanish exists no doubt in the Spanish of Arizona, Texas and California. In the region of Santa Barbara in Southern California, a strong Spanish community since the early part of the eighteenth century, I have found some 150 basic words of direct English source, regularly developed and in common use among the Spanish inhabitants. Their phonetic development differs very little from the New Mexican.

¡ qué *ice-cream* tan *fine !*
¡ qué *fine ice-cream !*
¡ qué hombre tan *sporty !*
Well, boys, vámonos.
¿ how are you, señoritas ?
señorita, *come in.*
well, come along, chicos.
you bet que sí.
va (a) haber una feria muy *fine.*
este *team* tieni un *fine pitcher.*
tuvimos un grand *time.*
ayer juimos á los *movies.*
quería andar de *smart and he got it in the neck.*
yo no voy a bailar este *two-step.*
¿ comieron *turkey* pa *Christmas ?*
¿ ónde stá mi *silk hat ?*
¡ qué *waist* tan bonito traía la novia !
¡ qué muchacha tan *fool !*
es el niño más *cute* que he visto.
no andes ai de *smart Alek.*
vamos ir al *foot-ball game* y después al baile a tener *the time of our lives.*
he is doing the best he can pa no quedarsi atras pero lo van a fregar.
no seas tan *cheater.*
Well, compadre, *¿ how is your* vieja ?
quítate di aquí, *cry-baby.*
sean hombres y no anden *fooling around* tanto.
esa si que fué una *first class* cochinada.
No le hagas caso a ese *fool.*

The English influence appears also in other important spheres of linguistic development, construction, word order and in the development of new meanings in the Spanish language itself. The commercial and political superiority of the English language in these regions has caused the Spanish to be considered by necessity the less important and under the continuous influence of English in every respect. Even the local Spanish newspapers (and there are about a score of these in New Mexico and some six or seven

in Colorado) are full of English phrases and constructions which have been literally translated from the English. Since the Spanish newspapers publish American news taken from the English newspapers the influence is direct. The New Mexicans are educated in English schools, and necessarily all possible influences are changing gradually the Spanish constructions into English constructions with Spanish words. From a Spanish population that is in continual and necessary contact with English speaking people who make no effort to learn Spanish,[1] and whose language they must study and speak, the influence just mentioned is exactly what is to be expected. The people are beginning to think in English and for expression seek the Spanish words which convey the English idea.

The English influence in question is one of the most interesting problems in linguistic investigation. We have before us, not the gradual and natural development of syntax, word-meaning, etc., as one can observe in the gradual development of popular Latin into the Romance Languages, but the somewhat unnatural and necessary development which comes from urgent economic causes. The complete materials for this part of our work have not been yet worked out in detail, and we shall content ourselves with a few examples of the phenomena in question.

The most difficult part of the study above mentioned is that involving mere idea expressions which involve no necessary association with American institutions. The problem is made all the more complicated when one has to decide whether the new construction could have been evolved without the English influence. Expressions and constructions evolved in New Mexican Spanish directly under the influence of the English construction are very numerous. Of the following, some are taken from my notes, others are taken from the local Spanish newspapers. To show clearly how parallel the constructions run, I give the English equivalent, in good English. As for the Spanish, in some cases it would have to be translated again into Spanish to make it clear.

[1] The New Mexico-English Americans are prejudiced, as a rule, against the Spanish inhabitants and do not care for their language or culture. In California, where the English speaking population is more enlightened, we find no racial prejudice, and the cult for Spanish things is general.

los prisioneros fueron puestos libres, the prisoners were set free.
haga fuerza venir, make an effort [to try] to come.
si gusta, if you please.
la mejor cosa en el proyecto, the best thing in the bill.
consiste de tres partes, it consists of three parts.
nadie debe interferir en este asunto, no one must interfere in this affair.
el comité se convino á las dos, the committee convened at two o'clock.
todas otras apropiaciones se harán en decretos separados, all other appropriations shall be made in separate bills.
fué ordenado de ir á la cárcel, he was ordered to go to jail.
¡venta nunca vista! ¡precios quebrados! ¡vengan a ver para ustedes mismos! los que vengan primero serán servidos primero, wonderful sale! prices smashed! come and see for yourselves! first come, first served.[1]
la familia de la viuda será soportada por el estado, the widow's family will be supported by the state.
fueron recipientes de muchos presentes, they were the recipients of many presents.
niños de decendencia española jamás serán negados el privilegio de admisión y atendencia a las escuelas públicas, children of Spanish origin shall never be denied the privilege of admission, etc.
todo poder político esta investado y emana del pueblo, all political power is invested in and emanates from the people.
la constitución tomará efecto y entrará en plena fuerza, the constitution will take effect and come into full force.
nada en este artículo será construído de prohibir el giro de bonos, nothing in this article must be construed to prohibit the floating of bonds.
dos de sus hijos atienden á las escuelas públicas, two of his sons are attending the public schools.

The Spanish translations used for governmental, political, educational, industrial, farming, and household terminologies,

[1] The English imitation reaches the height of ignorance and stupidity in the following announcement (Albuquerque, 1909): *¡ Gran venta de salvaje para hombres y mujeres y niños!* Great salvage sale for men women and children! Even the uneducated New Mexicans remarked that only the final *s* of *salvajes* was missing.

alone furnish material for a long and interesting study. The English words in question must of necessity be translated and the New Mexicans draw from their own resources and easily find some word or words to express the idea. The phrases and word groups joined with the preposition *de*, in origin a Spanish construction, are very abundant. Since I have not made a special study of these terminologies in any of my publications, the complete list from my notes is given below. The list, no doubt, is a small part of those in actual usage.

aceite di olivo, olive oil.
administrador de terrenos, land administrator.
aliansa de los rancheros, farmers' alliance.
asistente estafetero, assistant postmaster.
auditor ambulante, travelling auditor.
boleta republicana, republican ballot.
cama que se dobla, folding-bed.
carta enregistrada, registered letter.
carne de bote, canned meat.
casa di alto, two story house.
casa de corte, court house.
colegio di agricoltura, College of Agriculture.
comisionado de condado, county commissioner.
compañía de l'aseguransa, insurance company.
común de cadena, water-closet.
corte suprema, supreme court.
corte de distrito, district court.
cuerda de la lus eléctrica, electric light wire.
día de Crismes, Christmas day.
día di acción de gracias, Thanksgiving day.
dipo de l' unión, union depot.
diputau alguasil, deputy sheriff.
diputau asesor, deputy assessor.
diputau escribano, deputy clerk.
el de las órdenes, the order man (grocer).
enumerador del censo, census enumerator.
escuela alta, high school.
escuela de minas, school of mines.

escuela normal, normal school.
escuela de reforma, reform school.
espíritos di alcamfor, spirits of camphor.
esteque de pierna, round steak.
fondo de escuelas, school fund.
frijoles de jarro, canned beans.
frutas evaporadas, evaporated fruits.
gran jurau, grand jury.
gran marcha, grand march (at balls).
hospital de mineros, miners' hospital.
implementos de rancho, ranch implements.
ispetor de caminos, road overseer.
jamón di almuerso, breakfast bacon.
jamón de pierna, ham.
jues de distrito, district judge.
jues de la corte suprema, supreme court judge.
jues de pas, justice of the peace.
leche de bote, condensed milk.
leva de cola, swallow tail coat.
leva larga, Prince Albert coat.
leva de tasación, tax levy.
máquina de cortar sacate, hay-mower.
máquina de cortar trigo, harvester.
máquina de coser, sewing machine.
máquina de trïar, threshing machine.
máquina de rajar, saw-mill, lumber mill.
maquinita de moler carne, meat-chopper.
mariscal de la suidá, city marshall.
mariscal de los Estaus Unidos, United States marshal.
mayor de la suidá, city mayor.
medesina de la patente, patent medicine.
mesa de librería, library table.
mesa de cosina, kitchen table.
mesita del cuarto de recibo, parlor table.
notario público, notary public.
orden de estafeta, post-office money-order.
oya del eslope, slop bucket.
olivas, olivos, olives.

palita de los panqueques, pancake paddle.
palito de los dientes, toothpick.
palo de telégrafo, telegraph pole.
patio de maderas, lumber yard.
pinturas, moving pictures.
pipas del agua, water pipes.
pipas del gas, gas pipes.
procurador de distrito, district attorney.
procurador general, attorney general.
planta de la eletresidá, electric light plant.
regentes de l'Universidá, University regents.
sarsaparila del dotor ayer, Dr. Ayer's Sarsaparilla.
sete de platos, set of dishes.
superintendente de instrusión pública, superintendent of public instruction.
supervisor de florestas, forest supervisor.
supervisor del censo, census supervisor.
tienda de groceŕias, grocery store.
tienda de l'unión, union store.
tiquete de paso redondo, round-trip ticket.
túnico de tienda, ready-made dress.
vestido de tienda, ready-made suit.
viaje redondo (also *paso redondo*), round trip.
yarda, yard of a house, lot, courtyard.
yardas del ferrocarril, railroad yards.
yave del agua, water-faucet.
zapatos bajitos, low shoes, slippers.

PHONETIC DEVELOPMENTS

The phonetic changes involved in the hispanized words of English origin are of the greatest interest to the philologist. The study of these changes does not concern us here, and it is sufficient to point out a few of the most general. The phonetic processes in question forcibly remind the philologist of the similar processes in the old Vulgar Latin and early Romance words derived from the old Germanic dialects. In both the old and modern developments we have the case of a Germanic language furnishing hundreds of

vocables for adoption by a Latin language. It would not be strange to find a few parallel developments, but it is indeed surprising to find that many of the important phonetic processes involved are essentially the same. These facts speak eloquently for the ethnical unity, vigor, and force of these important branches of the Indo-European languages, and at the same time give testimony to the existence and solidarity of phonetic laws. Some of these changes are now given:

1. *Vowels*

English accented *ŭ* becomes New Mexican-Spanish *o*, BŬGGY > *bogue*, LŬNCH > *lonchi*, BŬNCH > *bonchi*, FŬN > *fon*. In the same manner Germanic *ŭ* becomes *o* in Romance, Franconian HŬRDI > Old French *horde*, Old High German KŬPPHIA > Old Spanish *cofia*.

English accented *ŏ* become New Mexican-Spanish *o*, BŎSS > *bos*, LOT > *lote*. In the same manner Germanic *ŏ* often becomes *o* in Romance, Old English NŎRTH > Spanish *norte*, Fr. *nord*. The law of *ŏ* > *ue* does not operate any longer.

English accented *ō* may become New Mexican Spanish *u* (generally *o*), CŌAT > *cute*, HIGH-TŌNED > *jaitún*. Likewise Germanic *ō* often became *u* in Romance, *URGŌLI > sp. *orgullo*, Germanic HLŌDWĪG > O. French *Louis*.

English accented *ē* becomes New Mexican-Spanish *i*, SPEECH > *espichi*, LEASE > *lis*. Likewise Germanic *i* (*ee*) became Romance *i*, Gothic RĪKS > French *riche*, Sp. *rico*, Old H. German ESLĪZAN > O. French *eslicier*.

2. *Epenthetic Vowels*

Between certain English consonant groups epenthetic vowels develop in New Mexican Spanish, in the same manner as in Germanic groups which passed over into Romance.

English NICKEL > *niquel*, English MACNALLY > *Mequenale*, SHOTGUN > *šotegón*. Likewise Germanic BOLLWERK > Old French *boulevard*, English PARTNER > Fr. *partenaire*.

3. *Consonants*

English initial *w* becomes New Mexican-Spanish *gu*, WAIST > *gueiste*, WINCHESTER > *guincheste*, WILLY > *Guile*. In the same

way all the early Romance languages converted Germanic *w* into *gu*, Old High German WERRA > Old Spanish *guerra*, Germanic WARJIAN > *guarir*, etc.[1]

English *f* becomes New Mexican-Spanish *f* (> bilabial *f* or *j*), FŪN > *fon*, FOOL > *ful*, *jul*. Likewise Germanic initial *f* became Romance *f* (often > bilabial *f* in Spanish).

RÉSUMÉ

The influence of the English language on the Spanish of New Mexico and Colorado must be studied, therefore, according to the following divisions, the phenomena of each division given in the order of relative importance from the viewpoint of the comparative philologist:

1. The study of the phonetic development of all popularly and regularly developed New Mexican-Spanish basic words of direct English source (about three hundred in number), a list of which is given at the end of this article.

2. The study of the morphological development of these words with the additional forms of non-phonetic development, from the viewpoint of inflection and conjugation, together with all derivatives therefrom.

3. A complete etymological vocabulary of all the New Mexican-Spanish words of English origin, with all derivatives, proper names, surnames, names of places, etc., with meaning if different from the English.

4. The study of the New Mexican-Spanish words and phrases used to translate the English governmental, political, educational, industrial, farming and household terminologies.

5. The study of the problem of speech mixture in New Mexican Spanish.

6. The study of the English influence on New Mexican-Spanish syntax and general phraseology and grammatical construction.

7. The historical, racial, and political problems.[2]

[1] *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, vol. 3, § 48.

[2] Practically all these problems have been studied in detail by the author in various publications; especially in *The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Southern Colorado* (Santa Fé, New Mexico, 1911), and *Studies in New Mexican*

VOCABULARY

A complete list of all the basic[1] New Mexican-Spanish words of English origin follows. The English words from which the New Mexican-Spanish words are derived are given in all cases. The New Mexican-Spanish words are transcribed as accurately as possible in the Spanish alphabet. The symbol *š* is equivalent to English *sh*.

1. *Nouns*

áiscrím < ICE-CREAM.
alcojol < ALCOHOL.
ale < ALLEY.
otomobil < AUTOMOBILE.
bágachi < BAGGAGE.
baisíquel < BICYCLE.
balún < BALLOON.
balís < VALISE.
bel < BALE (of hay).
bil < BILL.
béquenpaura < BAKING POWDER.
besbol < BASEBALL.
bisnes < BUSINESS.
bísquete < BISCUIT.
blofe < BLUFF.
bogue < BUGGY.
boil < BOIL (furuncle).
boila < BOILER (of engine).
bonchi < BUNCH.
boquebor < BUCKBOARD.
bos < BOSS.
brande < BRANDY.
breca < BRAKE.
brel < BREAD.
bugabú < BUGABOO.
buquipa < BOOK-KEEPER.
cabús < CABOOSE.
cláum < CLOWN.
clica < CLIQUE.
clósete < CLOSET.
cofe < COFFEE.
cumplén < COMPLAINT.
craque < CRACKER.
crismes < CHRISTMAS.
crobar < CROWBAR.
cuara < QUARTER (coin).
cun < COON.
cuque < COOKY.
cúte < COAT.
Chales < CHARLES.
chansa < CHANCE.
cheque < CHECK.
chipas < CHIPS.
Chochis < GEORGE.
choque < CHALK.

Spanish, Part III, *The English Elements of* (*Revue de Dialectologie Romane*, Hamburg, 1914).

[1] Derivatives from the words phonetically developed are not included. These can be formed almost *ad libitum*. In our *Studies*, *op. cit.*, all these have been carefully studied.

daime < DIME.
daique < DIKE.
daun < DOWN (football).
dipo < DEPOT
dola < DOLLAR.

escrachi < SCRATCH.
escrapes < SCRAPS.
escrepa < SCRAPER.
escrín < SCREEN.
eslipa < SLEEPER (car).
esmaši < SMASH.
espaique < SPIKE.
espelen < SPELLING.
espichi < SPEECH.
espor < SPORT.
esprés < EXPRESS.
esprín < SPRING (bed).
estaile < STYLE.
esteble < STABLE.
estepes < STEPS.
esteque < STEAK.
estiple < STAPLE.
estraique < STRIKE.
evrebore < EVERYBODY.

faila < FILE.
faya < FIRE.
fayamán < FIREMAN.
felo < FELLOW.
faul < FOUL (baseball).
flaya < FLIER (train).
fon < FUN.
forman < FOREMAN.

ǧele < JELLY.
Ǧimes < JIMMY.
ǧobe < JOB.
gondeme < GOD DAMN (= insult).
greve < GRAVY.
grimbaque < GREENBACK.
griso < GREASER (Mexican).
guaša < WASHER (mech.).
güeiste < WAIST.
guiangue < GANG.
Güile < WILLY.
güincheste < WINCHESTER.
güisque < WHISKEY.
guoque < WALK.

jaira < HARROW.
jaque < HACK.
jolón < HOLD ON (= insult).
juipen < WHIPPING.
juisque < WHISKEY.
jupencofe < WHOOPING COUGH.

laya < LIAR.
lere < LADY.
léreschois < LADIES' CHOICE.
lis < LEASE.
lon < LAWN (grass).
lonchi < LUNCH.
londre < LAUNDRY.
lote < LOT.

Mague < MAGGIE.
Maques < MAX.
Marí, Marrí < MARIE.
méchica < MEXICAN.
místar < MISTER.
mompes < MUMPS.
monquerrenchi < MONKEY WRENCH.

nicle, niquel < NICKEL.

otemil < OAT MEAL.
ovarjoles < OVERALLS.

panqueque < PANCAKE.
pantre < PANTRY.
pare < PARTY (social).
parna < PARTNER.
pene < PENNY.
penquila < PAINKILLER.
picha < PITCHER (baseball).
picle < PICKLE.
piquenique < PICNIC.
ploga < PLŬG.
poca < POKER.
polís < POLICE.
ponchi < PUNCH.
pone < PONY.
ponšope < PAWN SHOP.
porchi < PORCH.
pul < PULL.
pulman < PULLMAN.
puši < PUSH.

queque < CAKE.
quecha < CATCHER (baseball).
quiande < CANDY.
quiaši < CASH.
quido < KĬDDO.
quimona < KIMŌNO.
quique < KICK.

raide < RIDE.
rapa < WRAPPER.
redes < RADISHES.
reile < RAIL.
remarca < REMARK.
renchi < RANGE.
renganchi < TRAINGANG.
reque < RAKE.
reque < WRECK
resensaque < DRESSING SACK.
rigue < RIG.
ril < DRILL.
rinque < DRINK.
risés < RECESS.
roles < ROLLS.
roši < RUSH.
rula < RULER.

saibor < SIDEBOARD.
saiguoque < SIDEWALK.
salún < SALOON.
sanamabichi < SON OF A B —.
sanamagón < SON OF A GUN.
sángüichi < SANDWICH.
sarsaparila < SARSAPARILLA.
selesute < SAILOR SUIT.
sete < SET.
sinque < SINK (kitchen).
somil < SAW-MILL.
suera < SWEATER.
suichi < SWITCH.
suitejarte < SWEETHEART.
sur < SEWER.
sute < SUIT.
šaine < SHINE (shoe shine).
šampú < SHAMPŌŌ.
šante < SHANTY.
šerife < SHERIFF.
šo, cho < SHOW (circus).
šopes < SHOPS.
šorgüeiste < SHIRTWAIST.
šotis, šotís < SCHOTTISCHE.
šotegón < SHOTGUN.

taya < TIE (railroad).
telefón, telejón < TELEPHONE.
tíquete < TICKET.
trampe < TRAMP.
transe < TRANSOM.
triques < TRĬCKS.

trite < TREAT.
troca < TRUCK.
tustepe < TWO-STEP (dance).
yarda < YARD.
yel < YELL.

2. *Adjectives*

broquis < BROKE (poor).

cranque < CRANKY.
crese < CRAZY.

dochi < DUTCH (American, German).

esmarte < SMART.
espore < SPORTY.

fain < FINE.
fone < FUNNY.
ful, jul < FOOL.

griso < GREASER.
güilo < WILLY (=foolish).

jaitún < HIGHTONED.

méchica < MEXICAN.

ponque < PUNK.

quiute < CUTE.

rede < READY.

sanamabichi < SON OF A B —.
sanamagón < SON OF A GUN.
sor < SORE (offended).

trampe < TRAMPY (tramp-like).

3. *Verbs*

New Mexican-Spanish verbs of English origin take the English verb as the stem and add the regular endings. Nearly all add *-iar* to form the infinitive.

baquiar < BACK + IAR.
bonchar < BUNCH + (I)AR.
bosiar < BOSS + IAR.

cambasiar < CANVASS.
craquiar < CRACK.
cuitar < QUIT.
chachar < CHARGE.
chequiar < CHECK.
chitiar < CHEAT.

deschachar < DISCHARGE.

escrachar < SCRATCH.
esmašar < SMASH.
espeliar < SPELL.
estraiquiar < STRIKE.

fuliar < FOOL.

jairiar < HARROW.

lonchar < LUNCH.

monquiar < MONKEY.

puliar < PULL.
pušar < PUSH.

quiašar < CASH.
quiquiar < KICK.
requiar < RAKE.
riliar < DRILL.
risquiar < RISK.
roseliar < RUSTLE (= work).
suichar < SWITCH.
šainiar < SHINE.
šutiar < SHOOT.
telefoniar < TELEPHONE.
trampiar < TRAMP (steal).
tritiar < TREAT.

4. *Adverbs* (some are also adjectives).

crese < CRAZY.
enejau < ANYHOW.
fain(e) < FINE.
fone < FUNNY.
olraite < ALL RIGHT.
rede < READY.
tumoro < TOMORROW.

5. *Exclamations, greetings, etc.*

albechu < I'LL BET YOU.
auchi < OUCH.
bai bai < BYE BYE.
càmíar < COME HERE.
càmón < COME ON.
chi clai < JEE CLY.
ǧijuís < GEE WHIS.
gódèmete < GOD DAMN IT.
gorejèl, gorijèl < GO TO HELL.
guirepe, guirape < GET UP.
gurbái < GOOD BYE.
jaló < HELLO.
jamachi < HOW MUCH.
jariru < HOW DO YOU DO.
jàrirusa < HOW DO YOU DO, SIR.
je < HEY.
jolón < HOLD ON.
jurá, juré < HURRAH.
op, opa, ope < UP.
plis < PLEASE.
sarap(e) < SHUT UP.
šo < PSHAW.
šoquis < SHUCKS.
yubete < YOU BET.
yubechu < YOU BET YOU.
yubechu laif < YOU BET YOUR LIFE.

ST. VRAIN'S EXPEDITION TO THE GILA IN 1826

Thomas Maitland Marshall

The American fur trade in the Southwest which followed the attainment of Mexican independence has received but scant attention from historians, having been subordinated by them to the merchandise trade over the Santa Fé trail. This viewpoint is mainly due to Gregg and Chittenden. For over half a century Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* has been considered the classic for southwestern trade. It is a vivid account of an eye-witness who made eight trips over the trails. But there are two serious faults in Gregg's book. In the first place he did not engage in the trade until 1831,[1] and his knowledge of the preceding decades was based upon hearsay or upon a few books of travel.[2] As Gregg was a trader in merchandise, a business which had practically superseded the fur trade by 1831, it was but natural that he should convey the impression that the early trade was of the same nature as the later. Our other great authority is Chittenden,[3] whose admirable history of the fur trade of the Far West has frequently been considered the last word on the subject. But Chittenden was strongly influenced by Gregg and the full significance of the southwestern fur trade did not dawn upon him. He added considerable data, however, by using Fowler's *Journal*,[4] Pattie's *Personal Narrative*,[5] the files of the *Missouri Intelligencer*, and some other materials. But the footnotes in Bancroft's *History*

[1] Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1845), vol. 1, pp. v–vi. The most accessible edition is in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vols. 19–20.

[2] The books used by Gregg were Irving, *Tour of the Prairies* (Philadelphia, 1835); Murray, *Travels in the United States* (London, 1839); and Hoffman, *A Winter in the West* (New York and London, 1835). See *Early Western Travels*, vol. 19, p. 161.

[3] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), 3 vols.

[4] *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, Elliott Coues, ed. (New York, 1898).

[5] *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1831). Reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, vol. 18.

of Arizona and New Mexico[1] disclose a mass of material which Chittenden apparently did not examine. Still another unused source, which would have thrown light on the subject, is the documentary material in the archives of Mexico. Many of the transactions of the fur traders within Mexican territory were surreptitious, and just as it is difficult to get at the truth about piracy and smuggling, so it is difficult to obtain information about southwestern fur traders. They left few documents, and those few were usually but adorned tales. The views of Mexican officials are as valuable in explaining the history of the fur trade as are the reports of the English colonial customs officials, or the records of court proceedings in trials of piracy.

The following account of Ceran St. Vrain's expedition to the Gila in 1826 is based upon this class of materials, three *expedientes* being used. One is to be found in the archives of the State of Sonora at Hermosillo, Tomo 42, number 7; the others are in the Archivo de Gobernación at Mexico City; one being in the division *Comercio*, number 44; the other in the same archive, in the division of *Jefes Políticos*, 1831–1833, being *legajo* 59, *expediente* number 1, folio 28. These *expedientes* comprise thirty pages. Many of the documents are extremely difficult, being in colloquial Spanish, frequently spelled phonetically, and being innocent of accents.[2]

Up to the present time our knowledge of St. Vrain's expedition has been based upon Inman's *Old Santa Fé Trail*[3] and upon Chittenden. Inman says that late in the spring of 1826 Kit Carson joined an expedition gotten up by Ceran St. Vrain, which was destined for the Rocky Mountains. It left Fort Osage one morning in May and "in a few hours turned abruptly to the west on the broad Trail to the mountains." As to the exact destination the author fails to enlighten us, due no doubt to the fact that his object in introducing this bit of information was to tell the story of a fight with the Pawnees.

Chittenden says regarding the expedition, "It appears that in September of this year a party under Ceran St. Vrain (if we may

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 297–299, 332–338.

[2] The transcripts used by me are in Professor Bolton's personal collection.

[3] Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail* (Topeka, 1914), pp. 406–410.

trust Inman) set out for Santa Fé, arriving there in November; in this party was a runaway boy, Kit Carson, then 17 years old." [1] But it is evident that in spite of his citation of Inman, Chittenden did not follow that author faithfully. Inman says that St. Vrain started in May, Chittenden says in September. Chittenden's method of arriving at his conclusion that the date should be changed is found when we examine the sources of information regarding Kit Carson. In the *Missouri Intelligencer* of October 12, 1826, appeared an advertisement inserted by David Workman, to whom Carson was apprenticed, which stated that on or about September 1, Kit ran away.[2] Peters in his biography of Carson says that he arrived in Santa Fé in November,[3] a statement which is followed by Sabin in his recent work.[4] Chittenden appears to have changed the date as given by Inman to fit the information which he obtained from the *Missouri Intelligencer* and Peters. The statements of both authors are incorrect, at least in part. Inman was probably right, as will be shown later, in placing the departure of St. Vrain's expedition in May, 1826, but he was wrong in supposing that Carson accompanied the expedition, for Workman's advertisement, which appears to be good evidence, shows that Kit was in Missouri until about September 1. Chittenden unfortunately changed the only correct part of Inman's statement.

Let us now abandon the historians and examine the documents. On August 29, 1826, Antonio Narbona, Governor of New Mexico, issued at Santa Fé the following passport: "For the present freely grant and secure passport to the foreigners, S. W. Williams and Seran Sambrano [Ceran St. Vrain], who with thirty-five men of the same nation, their servants, pass to the state of Sonora for private trade; by all authority to my subordinates, none are to offer any embarrassment on this march." [5] We cannot be certain of the exact date of the arrival of St. Vrain at Santa Fé, but if we accept Inman's statement that the expedition left Missouri early in May, it is probable that the arrival in the Mexican settle-

[1] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 2, pp. 508–509.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 538–539.
[3] Dewitt C. Peters, *Pioneer Life and Frontier Adventures* (Boston, 1873), p. 30.
[4] Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* (Chicago, 1914), p. 27.
[5] Archivo del Gobierno del Estado de Sonora (Hermosillo), Tomo 42, No. 7, 1826.

ments occurred in the latter part of June. This would give them two months to dispose of their merchandise and unravel the red tape connected with the procuring of a passport.

As to the number on the expedition, the passport which states that there were thirty-five besides the leaders, would seem to be good evidence, but in a letter from Narbona to the governor of Sonora, written two days after the issuance of the passport, the number is given as about a hundred. A complaint made on October 26, 1826, by James Baird to Alexandro Ramírez, the president of the El Paso district, stated that there were over a hundred on the expedition. Ramírez in a letter to José Antonio Arce, the vice-governor of Chihuahua, on December 20, 1826, wrote that the reports which he had gathered showed a discrepancy in numbers, but that most of them agreed that there were not less than sixty. Owing to the detailed information given by Narbona to the governor of Sonora and to the fact that the statements of Narbona and Baird practically agree, it seems safe to conclude that there were about a hundred in the expedition.[1]

As to the personnel the documents disclose eleven names: Williams, whose initials are variously given as S. W. and J., Ceran and Julian St. Vrain, E. Bure, Alexander Branch, Louis Dolton, Stone, John Rueland or Roles,[2] Miguel Robideau, Pratt, and Joaquin Joon.[3]

It is impossible to determine the exact route of the expedition to New Mexico. It probably crossed the plains from Fort Osage to the neighborhood of Pawnee Rock, a well-known point on the Santa Fé Trail,[4] then by an uncertain route to Taos, the point of

[1] Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico), Comercio, Expediente 44. The importance of this is realized when we find that according to Gregg (*Commerce of the Prairies*, vol. 2, p. 160) in 1826 the total number engaged in the Santa Fé trade was a hundred men.

[2] Archivo del Gobierno del Estado de Sonora (Hermosillo), Tomo 42, No. 7, 1826.

[3] Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico), Comercio, Expediente 44. As to the identity of these men we have some data. The St. Vrains were later partners of the well-known firm of Bent and St. Vrain. Robideau or Robidoux was a famous fur trader. Pratt was known as a caravan proprietor. Of Williams we cannot be so certain. An Ezekiel Williams was a fur trader who was the hero of Coyner's *Lost Trappers*, a fanciful tale of the early traders. (A Wilson Williams was in the employ of Jedediah Smith. H. E. B.) A Lewis Dawson, perhaps the Louis Dolton of the documents, accompanied Glenn and Fowler in 1821, but according to Fowler's *Journal* he was killed by a bear in November of that year. This may be a convenient way of accounting to the people at home for the disappearance of one of the party. Professor Joseph Schafer, in a personal letter to me, suggests that Joaquín Joon was Ewing Young.

[4] Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail*, p. 406.

entry of most of the early expeditions.[1] As to whether the whole party went to Santa Fé, it is also uncertain. In the Glenn expedition of 1821–1822 the trappers remained at Taos while the leader went to Santa Fé.[2] The same thing may have occurred in this instance.

At Santa Fé or Taos, and probably the latter, the expedition was divided into four parts, no doubt for convenience in trapping on the various streams. Williams and Ceran St. Vrain led one party of twenty-odd, Robideau and Pratt one of thirty-odd, John Roles a third of eighteen, and Joaquin Joon one of similar size.[3] Having organized, the four parties made for the uninhabited regions of the west to trap on the Gila, San Francisco, and Colorado rivers.[4] In the documents we hear of them at various points, now at the Santa Rita Copper Mines,[5] now twelve men appear at Zuñi, now near Tucson.[6] On October 28, 1826, information arrived at the presidio of Tucson that sixteen men were in that region. A troop of soldiers was sent out to find them. Near the Gila the party met seven Indians who had been hunting in the neighborhood, who reported that the foreigners had gone by the Apache trail three days before, and that because of their start, it was useless to follow them.[7] It is evident from this that at least part of them had gone into the Apache country, which lay north of the Gila.

The documents from which we have gleaned these facts also throw much light on the methods, not only of these traders, but of other expeditions of the period. Of these documents, the most illuminating is the complaint of a Missourian named James Baird, made at El Paso on October 21, 1826. The full bearing as well as the humor of this document cannot be appreciated until the past history of Baird is known. In 1812 Robert McKnight, Samuel Chambers, and James Baird went from Missouri to Santa Fé.

[1] Fowler, *Journal*, pp. 104–106; Narbona to the Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations, September 30, 1826, in Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico), Comercio, Expediente 44.
[2] Fowler, *Journal*, pp. 95, 137.
[3] Narbona to the governor of Sonora, August 31, 1826, in Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico), Comercio, Expediente 44.
[4] Narbona to the Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations, September 30, 1826, in *ibid.*
[5] Ramírez to the governor of Chihuahua, December 20, 1826, in *ibid.*
[6] Archivo del Gobierno del Estado de Sonora (Hermosillo), Tomo 42, No. 7, 1826.
[7] The *alcalde* of Tucson to the governor of Sonora, November 4, 1826, in *ibid.*

They were arrested by the Spanish authorities and sent to Chihuahua, where they were imprisoned for nine years. In 1821, when Mexico attained her independence, John McKnight, a brother of Robert, obtained their release.[1] In 1822 Baird and Chambers led an expedition of fifty men from Franklin, Missouri, to Santa Fé.[2] At this point Baird drops out of sight so far as the historians are concerned. But the following complaint made at El Paso shows that he remained in New Mexico and became a Mexican citizen, that he engaged in the fur trade and in 1826 was trying to keep Americans out of the field. The statement that for fourteen years he had been a citizen of Mexico and the frequent reiterations of his fidelity are highly humorous in view of the fact that nine out of the fourteen years were spent in a Mexican jail.

Baird's statement is as follows: "For fourteen years I have resided in the provinces, wherein, according to the plan of Yguala, I entered upon the enjoyment of the rights of Mexican citizenship, devoting myself for some time to beaver hunting, in which occupation I invested my small means with the purpose of forming a methodical expedition which might bring profit to me and to those fellow citizens, who would necessarily accompany me in the said expedition. I was moved to this project by the protection afforded by the laws to Mexican citizens in the employment of their faculties to their own advantage and which excluded by special decrees all foreigners from trapping and hunting, which they might undertake in the rivers and woods of the federation, especially that of beaver, since it is the most precious product which this territory produces. And although it is known to me that for a year and a half past they have clandestinely extracted a large quantity of peltry, exceeding $100,000 in value, I have kept still, knowing that this exploration had been made by small parties; but now, being ready to set out upon the expedition of which I have spoken, I have learned that with scandal and contempt for the Mexican nation a hundred-odd Anglo-Americans have introduced themselves in a body to hunt beaver in the possessions of this state and that of Sonora to which the Río Gila

[1] Chittenden, *The Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 2, pp. 496–497.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 504.

belongs, and with such arrogance and haughtiness that they have openly said that in spite of the Mexicans, they will hunt beaver wherever they please; to protect their expedition, they are carrying powder and balls, in consequence of which no one is able to restrain them. In view of these circumstances, I believe that it is a bounden duty of every citizen, who has the honor to belong to the great Mexican nation, to make known to his superior government the extraordinary conduct which the foreigners observe in our possessions, which transgressions may be harmful, both on account of the insult which they cast upon the nation by despising our laws and decrees as well as through the damage which they do the said nation by the extinction which inevitably will follow of a product so useful and so valuable. I ought to protest, as I do, that in making this report, I am not moved so much by personal interest as by the honor and general welfare of the nation to which I have heartily joined. In view of the foregoing, I beg that Your Excellency may make such provisions as you may deem proper, to the end that the national laws may be respected and that foreigners may be confined to the limits which the same laws permit them, and that we Mexicans may peacefully profit by the goods with which the merciful God has been pleased to enrich our soil . . ." [1]

The complaint of Baird brought prompt action on the part of the Mexican officials. Alexandro Ramírez, the president of the district of El Paso, informed the governor of Chihuahua, who sent back orders that Ramírez was to report concerning the expedition as to numbers, passports, places visited, and destination.[2] Similar orders were sent to the *alcalde* of Tucson,[3] and to the *comandante general* and *jefe político* of New Mexico.[4]

On December 20, 1826, Ramírez wrote to the government at Chihuahua that he was not certain of the numbers and that he had heard that they were hunting near the Real de San Francisco in the state of Sonora. "Up to the present time," he said, "they have not been at other points in this state in the present year,

[1] Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico) Comercio, Expediente 44.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Archivo del Gobierno del Estado de Sonora (Hermosillo), Tomo 42, No. 7, 1826.
[4] Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico) Comercio, Expediente 44.

but in the previous years they have hunted all along the river of this jurisdiction, [the Rio Grande] securing a quantity of beaver peltry, without having been disturbed by the former judges, or even made to pay a tax for their extraction." He confirmed the statement of Baird that they had talked in an insolent manner.[1]

Even before the complaint of Baird was lodged, the actions of the traders had disturbed Governor Narbona. Two days after the granting of the passport to Williams and St. Vrain he had warned the governor of Sonora that the Americans were going on a secret hunting trip to the rivers of Sonora "to the known injury of our public treasury, in infraction of our laws." He stated that his suspicions were aroused by the large number and by the questions which they asked when they demanded passports. He further observed that they were "all without trade or other visible object."[2] On September 30 Narbona wrote to the minister of interior and foreign relations, "I am suspicious that the Anglo-Americans, who are returning to their country, are lingering a long time, as they are retiring from the inhabited places along the banks of the rivers in the pursuit of beaver trapping and they do the same in the center of the states of Sonora and Chihuahua." He complained of a lack of cavalry to patrol the frontier, saying that with the greatest difficulty he had maintained ten men in the neighborhood of Taos. He also said that unless something was done at once the beaver would soon become extinct in that region. In the letter Narbona betrays his anxiety. He had granted the Americans a right to trade, but now was trying to make the authorities at Mexico City believe that he had granted the traders a passport to leave the country and that they had violated their privileges by trapping instead of leaving.[3] In a letter to the governor of Chihuahua on February 14, 1827, Narbona again pointed out the inadequacy of his forces to patrol the frontier. He said that there were many foreigners in the country without permits, a condition which had existed since 1822, the year, according to the governor, that Americans began to penetrate into the country.[4]

Still further light is thrown on the operations of the traders and on the Santa Fé officials in a report from Chihuahua made to

[1] Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico) Comercio, Expediente 44.
[2] Narbona to the Governor of Sonora, August 31, 1826, in *ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

the central government in 1831, but which was based largely upon observations made in 1827. The report in part says, "The taking of peltries of beaver is a branch of trade profitable only for the Anglo-Americans, who make up hunting parties and also establishments for them which last several months; as a result the species will soon be destroyed." In the report was embodied a statement from Don Rafael Sarracino, who had been in New Mexico in 1827. Sarracino's statement ran as follows: "The Anglo-Americans, well provided with arms and instruments for hunting, particularly for beaver, are purchasing of the inhabitants of Santa Fé the license which they in their name obtain from the judge of that capital, for making a hunt for a certain length of time and in certain places, which the same judge designates for many leagues distance in the mountains and deserts which the Rio Bravo [Rio Grande] washes; with the subterfuge of the license, the Anglo-Americans are attacking the species without limit or consideration and are getting alarming quantities of peltries, frequently without paying even an eighth of the customs to the treasury. Formerly they refused [to pay] so much that in 1827, (I being in Santa Fé) I was acquainted with an arrangement which they made with a wretch named Don Luis Cabeza de Vaca, the miserable fellow, that he should receive smuggled goods in his house which he has in the desert; and a man of like port, for resisting the attack on the house, was unfortunately killed by a bullet wound which was directed by the soldiers who assisted the *alcalde* in capturing [it]. The *alcalde* succeeded in getting twenty-nine *tercios* [tierces] of very valuable beaver skins, which were forfeited in the course of that summer in the storehouses of the deputy-commissioner of the territory. . . ." [1]

The letters of Narbona, the complaint of Baird, and the resulting inquiry aroused the Mexican government. In March, 1827, the vice-governor of Chihuahua sent the documents, which had been collected from the officials of New Mexico and Sonora, to the secretary of state for foreign relations, and on April 5 a protest was made to Poinsett, the United States minister, in which

[1] Ygnacio Madrid to the Secretary of State and Foreign Relations, April 14, 1831, Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobernación (Mexico), Jefes Políticos, pp. 1831–1833, Expediente 1, Leg. 59, ff. 28.

he was asked to have his government restrain the traders. On the ninth Poinsett replied, expressing his regret at the infraction of the laws by citizens of the United States, and assuring the Mexican government that he would submit the request to his government, "with full confidence that it will adopt measures, as the laws permit, to stop the repetition of similar acts on the part of citizens of the United States." [1] I have found no evidence to show, however, that the United States took any action to restrain the traders.

In the light of the evidence, it seems fair to assume that the history of the Santa Fé trade must be revised, giving the fur trader his place beside or ahead of the merchant. St. Vrain's expedition was only one of many similar enterprises. It was chosen as the central theme of this paper because the documents which have thus far been gathered are more complete on this expedition than on others. But the archives of Mexico have only begun to give up their stores. The writer has seen enough in these and other documents to convince him that the history of the Santa Fé Trail has not yet been written.

[1] Archivo de Gobernación (Mexico), Comercio, Expediente 44.

THE CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF OTERMÍN'S ATTEMPT TO RECONQUER NEW MEXICO, 1681–82

Charles W. Hackett

The occasion for a discussion of the causes for the failure of Governor Otermín's attempt to reconquer New Mexico in the winter of 1681–82, as well as for a new and intensive study of the broader field of which it is a part, namely, the Pueblo revolt and the reconquest, is the recent acquisition of hitherto unused sources from the Mexican and Spanish archives. These sources, collated with materials in the New Mexico archives, the Bancroft Collection, and the Peabody Museum, cause the whole subject to be seen in a new and different light. In the present paper a meagre sketch of the narrative of the Otermín expedition, the outlines of which are already well known, will be necessary, but emphasis will be laid not only upon the actual causes for the failure of the expedition, but upon some of the most important related facts upon which new light has been thrown.

As a result of the Pueblo uprising in New Mexico in August 1680, in which three hundred and eighty civilians and twenty-one missionaries lost their lives, the survivors, numbering over two thousand five hundred souls, including three hundred and seventeen Indian allies, retreated under the leadership of their governor, Don Antonio de Otermín, to the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso. There succor was had for the half-starved, half-naked, and foot-sore refugees, through the kindness of Father Ayeta, the Franciscan *custodio* and *procurador general* of the province, who fortunately had just arrived at El Paso from the city of Mexico with a wagon train of supplies for the missionaries of the province. There a halt was called and temporary settlements were established in the vicinity of Guadalupe del

Paso. At San Lorenzo, one of these settlements located about twenty-five miles below the pueblo of El Paso, headquarters for the governor and for the *cabildo* of Santa Fé were established, and there the provincial form of government was maintained in all of its detail.[1]

In December Father Ayeta went to Mexico City, carrying with him the official records of the revolt and of the retreat, and various petitions from the governor and leading citizens for supplies so that they might attempt a reconquest of the lost province. On January 7, 1681, the *Junta General* began a consideration of the New Mexican situation and by the end of the month had arrived at a decision. The refugees were to be supplied with corn and meat until October 1 at royal expense; grain and implements for farming were to be furnished so that the settlers might become self-sustaining; money was allowed for one hundred and fifty *pobladores*, or settlers, at an annual stipend of two hundred and fifty *pesos* each; fifty soldiers, at the current wage of three hundred and fifteen *pesos* annually, were provided for a presidio, which was to remain at El Paso until the province was reconquered; and last and most important of all, orders were given for Otermín to attempt at once a reconquest of New Mexico so that the refugees might return to their ruined homes. It is thus seen that the settlement of the New Mexico refugees at El Paso was intended to be only temporary. To Father Ayeta the *Junta General* on February 1, 1681, assigned the duty of conducting the relief train to El Paso and of carrying the orders of the superior government to Governor Otermín.[2]

In the meantime conditions at El Paso had been going from bad to worse and before Father Ayeta finally arrived a number of serious dangers had arisen. In March news had come that the Pueblos, allied with the Apaches, were planning to attack El

[1] See Hackett, *The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680*, in *The Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, vol. 15, pp. 93–147; and *The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso*, in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 16, pp. 137–168, and 259–276.

[2] *Auttos tocantes; ál Alsamiento de Los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueba Mexico*, folios 92–121. Mss. in the Archivo General y Público de Mexico, Provincias Internas, tomo 37. (See Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, 94.) Transcripts of the documents in the above-cited *expediente* are now in the private collection of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, to whom I am indebted for their use.

Paso, in which they expected to be joined by the Christian Pueblos there and by the native Mansos and Sumas Indians.[1] The supplies furnished by Father Ayeta had only been calculated to last until March 1, 1681, at which time it was thought succor could be had from Mexico City. By April 5, however, no word had come from there and the store of supplies had run so low that unless replenished it could last the settlers only thirty more days. Urgent appeals for help were sent to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and foraging expeditions were sent to Casas Grandes and Parral to buy grain and cattle on the credit of the governor's name.[2] In July the Piros and Tigua allies had plans all laid to revolt, kill as many Spaniards as possible and then return to their pueblos; but these plans were discovered in time to be suppressed.[3] Many of the refugees had deserted upon their arrival at El Paso, and in the face of starvation and danger of Indian attacks discontent was so strong that many others left their families in El Paso and went to Casas Grandes, Parral, and other adjacent places in search of individual succor, while others deserted in the full sense of the word. In short, matters were such that Governor Otermín officially recorded his belief that if the situation was not relieved soon El Paso would either have to be abandoned, thereby increasing the risk to all northern New Spain, or the settlers must needs die of starvation.[4]

It was not until September 7, 1681, that Father Ayeta reached San Lorenzo with the belated train of supplies from Mexico City and the orders from the superior government for Otermín to attempt a reconquest of the province. But before his arrival the news that the viceroy and *Junta General* had given instructions for Otermín to lead a military expedition to New Mexico had been received, and an official announcement had been made at both San Lorenzo and the pueblo of El Paso nearly a week before

[1] *Tanto Sacado a la Letra de los autos fulminados de los Indios que Binieron del nuevo mex^o. llamados Alonsso Shimitigua Baltasar y thomas que su Thenor a la letra es Como se Sigue*, folios 1–8. Mss. in the Bancroft Collection.

[2] *Expediente*, No. 4, folios 1–9. Original Mss., in the New Mexico Archives at the Library of Congress. (See Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. 2, pp. 3–4.)

[3] *Expediente*, No. 7, folios 1–16 (incomplete) in *ibid.* (See Twitchell, *op. cit.*, 69–70); folios 17–18. These two folios of the *expediente*, having become separated from the rest, are in the Bancroft Collection.

[4] *Expediente*, No. 4, folios 1 and 9, in *ibid.*

the arrival of Father Ayeta.[1] This news was but a signal for a fresh outburst of discord and discontent among the settlers, for after what they had just passed through an expedition to New Mexico proved a most unwelcome subject. Father Ayeta himself best described the general situation. He stated that when he reached Parral on August 2, he heard rumors that the settlers at El Paso had come to regard the reconquest as impossible because additional soldiers were not being sent from Mexico. This, he said, surprised and grieved him, for when he left El Paso the year before he felt that the citizens were so anxious for help to return to a reconquest of their country that to accomplish it they would even be willing to eat stones; that without any doubt the greatest joy in the world would be theirs on the day when the viceroy would supply them with necessities for returning to the proposed reduction.[2] But on the 9th of September, the people having been called together by Otermín, even before the viceroy's despatch had been read to them, "there was not lacking one," so Father Ayeta stated, "to cause difficulties and embarrassments. From which, and from many reports which he received in a short time, he learned that all the sincerest courage, zeal, the promises, and the desires to return to the conquest manifested in Salineta, not only by their mouths but over their signatures, which the superior government holds, had been changed to cold indifference. And he learned that there was no dearth of leading citizens who in place of strength caused weakness. But he did what human strength could to encourage them and he remonstrates with his Lordship for having failed to aid him in carrying the heavy load which he bears as his strength permits. . . . And some being relatives of others and following their leadership, the matter reached such a state that the expense having been incurred, it was seen that it would be most difficult to make the *entrada*. And, were it not that God never permits that there be lacking many good men where there are bad, who promptly and obediently, without replies or metaphysics, enter into the service of the king, due credit being

[1] *Autos Pertenecientes a el alcamiento de los Yndios de La Prou^a del nuebo Mex^co Y la entrada, Y subcesos de ella que se hico para su recuperacion*, folio 62. Transcripts, in Bolton Collection, of Mss. in the Archivo General y Público de Mexico, Provincias Internas, 34. (See Bolton, *Guide*, 92.) Also *Expediente*, No. 8, folio 1, New Mexico Archives. (See Twitchell, *op. cit.*, 70.)

[2] *Autos Pertenecientes*, etc., folio 61.

given to his Lordship who led many out of the error they had been in by his good example, there would have been no *entrada.*" [1]

In the face of all this dissatisfaction Otermín the day after the arrival of Father Ayeta began preparations for carrying out the viceroy's orders. A general muster of the citizens and a review of all of their equipment was begun and orders were issued for all deserters to return to El Paso. The aid of the officials of Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora was implored in this matter, but it is worthy of note that not a half dozen of such deserters responded to their governor's call in the two months preceding the departure of the expedition.[2]

In the meantime dissatisfaction at El Paso grew apace and again on September 21, Father Ayeta came to the rescue. Speaking of himself in the third person he says: "It was asked of him that he continue the aid, for if he agreed and continued to give it difficulties would be removed. So he granted anew another 2000 cattle and 2000 *fanegas* of grain in the name of his Majesty." In this way actual opposition to the plans was quieted and the next day the governor began making the payments to the settlers. The following day the list of soldiers for the presidio was made known and the soldiers paid. Ayeta is authority for the statement, however, that the supply money was so placed that the number of dissatisfied settlers exceeded the number of satisfied ones, "an accident," he adds, "which the great prudence of his Lordship overcame and made bearable that the service of their majesties might be accomplished. And for his part his Paternity took all possible precautions, caressing them and petting them, with no slight mortification and disgust, until God wished that they should move." [3]

Finally on November 5 the force left Guadalupe del Paso. On November 7 at the Ancón de Fray García, six leagues above Guadalupe, a general review and muster was held and it was found that there were one hundred and thirty trained soldiers, sixteen raw recruits, one hundred and twelve Indian allies, twenty-eight

[1] *Autos Pertenecientes*, etc., folios 62–63.

[2] *Expediente*, No. 8, folios 1, 33, and 65 in New Mexico Archives. (See Twitchell, *op. cit.*, 70.)

[3] *Expediente*, No. 6, folios 28–30 in New Mexico Archives; *Expediente*, No. 5, folios 1–26 in *ibid.*; *Expediente*, No. 8, folios 34–40, in *ibid.*; *Autos Pertenecientes*, 63.

servants, nine of whom were armed, at least three religious, including Father Ayeta, and one boy, thus making a total of about two hundred and ninety persons. The soldiers carried in all nine hundred and forty-eight horses and mules and the religious doubtless thirty or forty more. The military equipment was deficient in many respects. Excepting Governor Otermín and Francisco Xavier, the Secretary of Government and War, only twenty-five soldiers were provided with complete outfits of personal arms and full cavalry equipment. Thirty-six others carried outfits of personal arms, but were not provided with full cavalry equipment; three possessed complete outfits of personal arms only; thirty-four had a full outfit of personal arms with the exception of a *terno;* and one carried all his personal arms with the exception of a *terno* and a leather jacket. Of the other forty-five one possessed only an arquebus, another only a leather shield, while among the remaining forty-three there were in all fourteen swords, fourteen arquebuses, ten shields (*chimales*), eight leather shields (*adargas*), six daggers, two jackets, four lances and three leather jackets. None of these men possessed more than one of each kind of the above mentioned articles, while only six men possessed as many as four of the articles.[1]

While by this time actual opposition to the expedition had been hushed there was still an almost utter lack of confidence in the success of the undertaking. This is best illustrated by a statement of Otermín himself, made in the *auto* calling for the muster of November 7, to the effect that he believed it would be impossible to succeed on the expedition, which, he said, he was forced to undertake out of deference to his "obligation as a vassal and in order to give just fulfillment to the mandates and orders" of the viceroy and *Junta General.*[2] During the first fourteen or fifteen days of the march the soldiers were tractable, seeing, as Father Ayeta stated, that there was no remedy for it. But as they approached the settled country of the Pueblos even the most meritorious began to fear the first encounter with the Indians.[3] Selecting seventy of the most valorous ones Otermín with them,

[1] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 4; *Expediente*, No. 8, folios 65–73, in New Mexico Archives.
[2] *Expediente*, No. 8, folio 65, in New Mexico Archives.
[3] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 63.

on December 6, surprised and captured Isleta and soon after received the submission of the entire population, numbering five hundred and eleven souls,[1] and not fifteen hundred and eleven, as Bancroft states.[2]

On the eighth of December Otermín despatched the lieutenant-general of the cavalry, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, with seventy mounted soldiers and some Indian allies to reconnoiter the country above, while he occupied himself with various duties in Isleta. The Indians above Isleta had heard of the arrival there of the Spaniards and at once had taken to the mountains. Mendoza was gone ten days and advanced as far as La Cieneguilla, passing through the pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. At La Cieneguilla parleys were held with the assembled Indians, numbering over one thousand warriors, and peace pacts were made, by the terms of which Mendoza was to allow the Indians three days in which to submit to the Spaniards' rule and return to their pueblos. He and his men then returned to Cochiti to await the expiration of the period. At the end of that time, no Indians having come, it was ascertained through spies and through deserters from the Indian camp that the Indians had only made terms in order to gain time, that warriors from all over the kingdom were flocking to the standard of Catiti, Don Luis Tupatu and other native chieftains, and that there were several well laid schemes to entrap the Spaniards and get rid of them at one fell swoop.

As soon as Mendoza learned this he beat a hasty retreat and the next day joined Otermín's division, which by this time had advanced northward from Isleta and was encamped opposite the pueblo of Alameda, which the governor had already destroyed, together with Puaray and Sandia.[3] It may be remarked in passing that the records kept by Otermín at this time disprove the long accepted theories as to the location of the three above-mentioned pueblos and show conclusively that Alameda was about eight leagues above Isleta and on the same or west side of the stream, that Puaray was one league above Alameda but on

[1] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folios 8 and 101–102.
[2] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 188.
[3] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folios 10–57.

the east bank of the river and that Sandia was one league above Puaray and on the same side of the stream.[1]

The return of the Mendoza party with its discouraging reports was the real turning point in the outward policy of the expedition. Whatever had been the half-hearted attitude up to that time there could henceforth be no doubting the keen opposition to remaining in the country. Father Ayeta stated that Otermín, disgusted with the failure of the Mendoza party, determined to select seventy men and go in person to chastise the rebels. To ascertain the general opinion on this point Father Ayeta made a tour of the camp. He found in some of the soldiers "such rebelliousness and in others such arguments" that he realized the hopelessness of the project. "Those who had horses," he added, "looking at nothing but their own convenience, although the sky should fall, would not lend them to their own fathers, much less to the governor." In short, not ten men were found who were willing to accompany the expedition.[2] To discuss the general situation Otermín, on December 23, called a *junta de guerra*.[3] Father Ayeta, the first one of the thirty-one participants to give an opinion, stated emphatically that he did not believe that there was any prospect of Otermín's being able to inflict further punishment on the apostates, and recommended a retreat to Isleta,[4] so that that pueblo might be safeguarded until a decision could be reached. With Father Ayeta, who had done so much to inspire the soldiers for the undertaking, discouraged, there could be little hope for further efforts at reconquest. In the discussion that followed emphasis was laid on the fact that the unusually hard winter had so exhausted the horses that many soldiers were doing scout duty on foot; that the Isleta Indians were deserting and returning to apostasy while those loyal to the Spanish cause were liable to be attacked by the rebels; and that the place where they were was unsuited for defense, and short of firewood. The majority voted to retreat for the present to Isleta. Four voted to continue the *entrada* and three were in favor of leaving for San Lorenzo at once. Otermín, as can be imagined, yielded to public

[1] See Hackett, *The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1681*, in *Old Santa Fé*, vol. 2, pp. 381–391.
[2] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folios 63–64.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 64.

opinion and ordered a retreat to Isleta, where his force arrived on December 30. The next day another *junta* was held, and it was unanimously agreed to retreat at once to El Paso. Isleta was burned as were all of the other pueblos visited except San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti, and on January 2 the force began its march down the river.[1]

In summing up the achievements of the expedition little can be said. A distance of more than a hundred and twenty-five leagues had been traversed. Five hundred of the sixteen thousand apostates had been absolved and received again into the church, although over one hundred of these had apostasized again during the Spaniards' absence. Eight pueblos, including Isleta, which was the only one that was not found deserted, had been burned, and with them a quantity of grain estimated at four thousand *fanegas*. Three other deserted pueblos had been sacked and a great quantity of beans and other things consumed. Only one encounter with the Indians is recorded and this was at Isleta, the only pueblo as far south as the Piros country which did not participate in the revolt of the preceding year. There the natives only let fly a few arrows, for, being attacked at daybreak, they were unable to ascertain who the invaders were, and at first took them to be Apaches. The offensive operations of the Mendoza party, as we have seen, amounted to nothing. In short it is worthy of comment that the death, or even the wounding, of not a single person on either side is noted.

What then can be assigned as the cause for so little having been accomplished on so long an expedition? The actual opposition encountered before the expedition set out, the lack of confidence in the undertaking from the governor down, even from the very beginning, and the unwilling resignation to the inevitable on the part of the soldiers on the march could only presage an unsuccessful expedition. Under such conditions there could have been little hope for overcoming such trials and discouragements as were caused by the severe weather, the failure of the horses, and the flight of the Indians to the mountains rather than surrender, while a vigorous offensive campaign against the apostates was out of the question.

[1] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folios 65–95.

That such a campaign was possible, however, and that the failure of the expedition was not regarded by the officials as due to a scarcity of men and equipment was pointed out in no uncertain terms by the royal fiscal in Mexico City later on. His review of the expedition is interesting and altogether enlightening. He says in part: "In the pueblos which were set on fire more than 4000 *fanegas* of grain were burned, besides a great quantity of beans. And it must be noted that this quantity did not include that which the carts and pack train carried and that which they threw to the animals; that in the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Ana, and Sia, there was a great quantity of grain and other supplies, as the lieutenant-general, Juan Domínguez, related in those letters of which mention has been made; that at least there might have been collected another 4000 *fanegas*, which he left to the enemy, and likewise the houses of the above-mentioned pueblos, without having set fire to them. And it seems that if the governor had ordered that all of said grain should be collected in the pueblo of Puaray, which is in the central part and at a short distance from the others, he could have made himself secure in it, having plenty of grain to sustain his force, and to feed to the horses and mules at night, taking them out during the day to feed in the fields, for in his letters the lieutenant informed him that on both sides of the river the feed and stubble was more than good in that vicinity. And having finished gathering in the crop of corn there could not fail to have been a large quantity of husks and stalks of the corn itself, equally good feed for the horses and mules. In this way it would have been possible to maintain the army many months in the said pueblo, which is in the central part of the province and from ten to twelve leagues distant from the villa of Santa Fé. And the apostates being in the sierras during the snowy season, without houses, and with few provisions, the discomforts of cold and hunger would have reduced them to the necessity of submission, while the cause for the weakness of the horses, which was the main pretext for the retreat, would have been removed, since with a few days of rest and feeding on corn they would have been fatter and stronger than when they left the camp of San Lorenzo. And the other pretext, that the surrendered Indians in Isleta were

in danger, vanishes because of the ease with which they could have been taken with the army to the said pueblo of Puaray where they would be more secure than left alone as they were in Isleta, merely on the strength of their word and with the power of carrying away the many provisions which they had there.

"And when their safety is doubted that doubt may be dispelled by what persons experienced in Indian warfare say, for example will not be found in all New Spain where Indians have dared to offer battle to so many persons as the army numbered, mounted, provided with arms and ammunition, and intrenched in a pueblo, nor even to attack those with less defence unless it were by surprise. For it continually happens that twenty armed men with powder and munitions, make thousands of Indians retreat although it may be in the open country. And when anyone attempts to deny this pure and notorious truth, laying aside many other examples to prove it, that will be sufficient which the governor himself experienced in the villa of Santa Fé. For notwithstanding that all the apostates had been called together for the uprising, and that this news had caught him unawares and without any preparation to resist such a general assemblage, and the Indians, being so wrought up that in all of the other pueblos of that district they had already killed the priests and all the Spaniards, without sparing the children and women, yet the said governor, having placed himself in defense with only one hundred men who could bear arms, not only repelled the attack of such a multitude of Indians as had surrounded him, but, having repulsed them, put them to flight, killing more than three hundred, besides forty-seven others whom they caught in a house where they killed them with lances. And seeing that his lieutenant-general in Rio Abajo, Alonso García, was not giving him aid, he decided to leave, retiring with his followers from the said villa of Santa Fé, as he did, the greater part of them coming on foot and burdened with women and children and the necessary supplies. And with only one hundred horses he came retreating through the same pueblos of Sandia, Alameda, and Isleta, where the apostates had risen. In this way, with very few supplies, and in sight of the enemy who followed them, revealing themselves on the hills and ridges, he marched to the place called Fray Cristóbal, which is distant from

the villa and capital of Santa Fé, from where they set out, seventy leagues, without the apostates having dared to give him battle in all this distance with its very narrow passes, nor to come upon them, in spite of the fact that they [the Indians] had a great number of horses, and some guns, powder, and ammunition, which they had taken from the Spaniards.

"And, if on that occasion, when they were so disordered and were travelling on foot and with so great a number of women and children, and the few horses which they were bringing lean, on account of having been shut up the nine days that they were besieged, the Indians did not dare to attack them, even when they passed through the same pueblos, then it is clearly demonstrated that if those who were of the opinion that the army should retire would recall this event they would find all the motives with which they upheld the retirement to have vanished. For, in order to maintain themselves in the pueblos referred to they had the supplies in them which have already been mentioned; with eight hundred and fifty horses and other animals; provided with arms and munitions and without women and children to defend; and the apostates in the woods and mountains in the season of much snow, burdened with a whole rabble and with very few provisions; so that it was very likely not only that it could maintain itself but also that the rebels would necessarily have to surrender. Meanwhile they could have sent for aid to El Paso, Casas Grandes, and Parral for their greater security.

"Comparing then, the forces and supplies with which the governor retired at the time of the uprising with those which are found in his second retreat the great difference will be recognized. And if the enemy then did not have the boldness to attack him they would have less boldness now, seeing our men better provided and in greater number. And it is not reasonable that there should have been horses and mules able to retreat more than one hundred and thirty leagues and yet insufficient and too lean to go back to burn the pueblos of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti, and the provisions which were in them, which duty the lieutenant-general Juan Domínguez de Mendoza had failed to execute. For it is only six leagues, and from ten to twelve to the villa of Santa Fé, from the pueblo of Sandia where the

retreat was begun, thereby frustrating the recovery of that kingdom which they had so well under way that it was certain of success if he had maintained himself in the said pueblos." [1]

Such, in support of the above conclusions, was the opinion of the royal fiscal, when, upon the receipt of the official *autos* kept by Governor Otermín, he made a report to the viceroy.

[1] *Autos Pertenecientes*, folios 116–118.

THE ANCESTRY AND FAMILY OF JUAN DE OÑATE[1]

BEATRICE QUIJADA CORNISH

THE ancestry of Juan de Oñate,[2] on his father's side, may be traced to the Basque provinces.[3] The importance of these provinces in the evolution of Spain and her possessions is historically established. In religion alone, through Ignatius de Loyola of Guipúzcoa and Francis Xavier of Navarre, they have left their mark upon Europe.

Cristóbal de Oñate, father of Don Juan, was born in Vitoria,[4] the capital of Álava.[5] He was the son of Cristóbal Pérez de Narriahondo and Ossanza Martínez de San Vicente, his wife. He was also a nephew of Pedro de Baeza and María de Yrarrazával, his wife, of the ancient and illustrious house of Narriahondo,

[1] This paper was written in the Bancroft Library at the University of California.

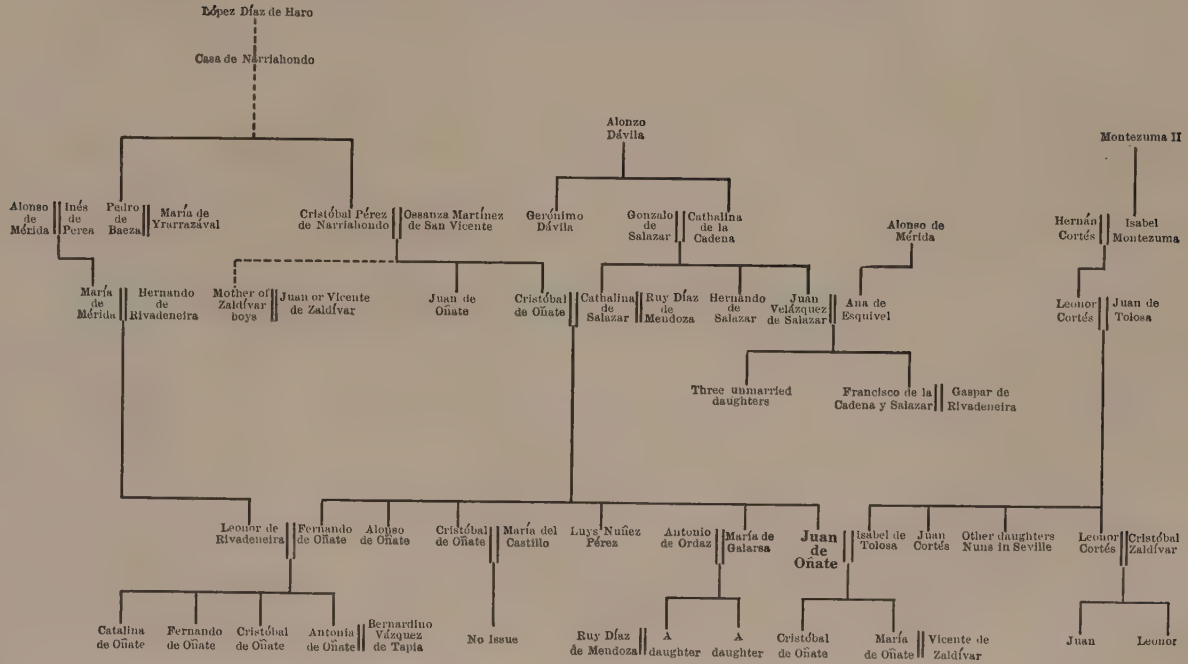
[2] Originally Oinati or Oniati, Soraluce, *Historia General de Guipúzcoa*, I, 256.

[3] *Provincias Vascongadas*, a division of northeastern Spain, comprising the provinces of Álava, Biscaya or Viscaya, Guipúzcoa and Navarre. Their isolation, the mountainous and easily defended nature of the country, their comparative poverty and the possession of a seaboard, all tended to the development of rugged characteristics essential to a people who were destined to carry on warfare and adventure for centuries in the liberation of their mother country from the Moors, and in the conquest and settlement of her distant colonies.

[4] Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, 402; Bernárdez, *Descripción Breve de la muy noble, y leal ciudad de Zacatecas*, 31, according to Haro's *Nobilario*. Béthencourt, *Historia Genealógica Heraldica de la Monarquía Española Casa Real y Grandes de España*, I, Introduction, 8–9, says regarding López de Haro, author of the *Nobilario:* "A Alonso López de Haro, Criado de Su Magestad, cronista que fué de Felipe IV, debemos el Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Títulos creados en Castilla desde que tuvieron el caracter de transmisibles y hereditarios, ó lo que es lo mismo, desde los tiempos de Don Enrique II, el de las Mercedes, hasta los de Felipe IV, á la sazon reinante." Bernárdez, p. 34, in quoting Haro, does so verbatim. A copy of Haro's work was furnished to him by Doctor Don Juan Ignacio María Castorena y Ursúa. A *Cívica Corona* compiled by Castorena y Ursúa from his researches in archives, from his detailed study of *crónicas* and surveys of *Nobilarios*, is mentioned by Bernárdez, but it is not available to the writer. For information on Castorena y Ursúa, see his *Las Indias Entendidas*, Sermon 10/1 and *El Predicador Convertido*, Sermon 8/4.

[5] For the origin of the name Álava, see Madoz, the *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico-Histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar;* Salazar, *Mexico en 1554*, p. 56. For the history of the province of Álava, see Pirala, *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia*, pp. 48–185. For the history of Villa de Oñate, see Pirala, pp. 330–384.

The Ancestry and Family of Juan de Oñate



within the jurisdiction of the important Villa de Oñate, in the province of Álava. There is evidence that this Villa was in existence in 1149.[1] It is situated in the centre of the Basque provinces. Pedro de Baeza was a descendant of López Díaz de Haro, "Señor de Viscaya," chief and captain-general of the Andalusian frontier, bishopric of Jaén, who conquered the city of Baeza from the Moors in 1227. This achievement caused him to order that all of his descendants adopt the surname of Baeza, so as to perpetuate this victory over the Moors.[2] In the early seventeenth century there were many families of this name both in Baeza and Viscaya.[3]

The ancestry of Juan de Oñate on his mother's side may be traced to Granada.[4] Doña Cathalina de Salazar, his

[1] Pirala, p. 179.

[2] Bernárdez, p. 32, according to Haro's *Nobilario*.

[3] Arlegui, *Chrónica de la Provincia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de Zacatecas*, 1st ed., pp. 56–57.

[4] Carranza, *Sumaria Relación de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, 289. The work of Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, to which frequent reference will be made, appears to have been little used heretofore. Because of its importance, the writer feels warranted in adding a statement bearing on the interesting history of both the author and his manuscript. This manuscript, probably his autobiography, according to Obregón, writer of the prologue of the publication, was published in 1902 by the Museo Nacional de Mexico. Prior to this time it had been in the possession of Sr. Lic. D. José Fernando Ramírez. Upon the death of this distinguished "bibliófilo" it was obtained along with other manuscripts and the majority of the books in his valuable library, by Sr. Lic. D. Alfredo Chavero. Upon one occasion, having shown this manuscript to Sr. D. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, he was so delighted with the work, that it was given to him as a present by its owner. While in possession of Icazbalceta, Sr. D. José María de Agreda y Sánchez had occasion to see the manuscript, and he in turn was so pleased with its contents that he decided to make a paleographical translation. Ágreda then requested Luis González Obregón to check the copy with the original, and he became so interested in its contents that he suggested to him that the manuscript be published as soon as possible. Unable to do so at that time, he did so later. His idea was greatly encouraged by Sr. Dr. D. Manuel Urbina, who communicated with Sr. D. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, already familiar with the manuscript. The document was published in its entirety for the first time in 1902; a few pages are incorporated in García Icazbalceta's *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana*. As the first fourteen pages of the original manuscript were missing, and therefore a title was lacking, Ramírez gave the book the name of *Sumaria Relación de las Cosas de Nueva España, con noticia individual de los descendientes legítimos de los conquistadores y primeros pobladores españoles*. Carranza was the son of Andrés Dorantes de Carranza, one of the companions of Cabeza de Vaca. Andrés Dorantes was a native of Béjar del Castañar in old Castile, and a descendant of noble families, of ancient lineage, possessing many "*mayorazgos de calidad*." Baltasar was born in Mexico about the middle of the sixteenth century, and inherited an *encomienda* which brought him five thousand *pesos de renta*, of which he was despoiled, being left, as he good naturedly remarks, "desnudo y en cueros como cuando salió mi padre de la Florida." He wrote in Mexico in 1604, as he himself states in several places in his work. On one occasion he says: "Not more than eighty-four years have elapsed since this land was conquered, which is in 1604, and therefore the persons living are known, and the memory of those deceased is still alive." Beyond the data furnished by himself, little is known of him, but he enters into an interesting account of the life, ancestry, and descendants of his father, Andrés Dorantes de Carranza. Baltasar

mother,[1] was the daughter of Gonzalo de Salazar, "el gordo," and Doña Cathalina de la Cadena.[2] She had previously been married to Ruy Díaz de Mendoza, who upon his death left her a widow in Spain. She then came from Spain to Mexico and married Cristóbal de Oñate, Don Juan's father, who was at that time a *vecino* of the city of Mexico.[3] Doña Cathalina de la Cadena was the daughter[4] of Alonso Dávila,[5] " el de Malacatepec,"[6] *conquistador* and *vecino* of the city of Mexico.[7] Antonio de la Cadena came from Spain to Texcuco[8] with Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, also a *conquistador*.[9]

Don Cristóbal de Oñate came from Spain in the autumn of 1524,[10] with the *contador*, Rodrigo de Albornóz[11] and Gonzalo de

was *tesorero* for the king in the port of Vera Cruz, and occupied other positions of merit in New Spain. Later he was named *procurador general* to the king of Spain. He mentions another book which he wrote, and which he calls "*el libro principal*." He says: "se tocará universalmente lo que conviene decir en este propósito en el libro principal, porque no es deste lugar, que haría historia de inmensidad" (Carranza, p. 63). According to Obregón, this book has never been found.

[1] The discussion relative to Juan de Oñate's mother, namely: whether Doña Isabel Cortés Montezuma was his mother or his wife, has been brought about because the only source on which authorities have based their deductions was Haro's *Nobilario*, and this work has been differently quoted. Arlegui, 1st ed., p. 31, erroneously calls Doña Isabel Cortés Montezuma the wife of Don Cristóbal. The San Luis Potosí *Relacion Circuns.* confirms this statement by calling Don Juan "hijo de Doña Isabel," according to Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 116; Villagrá, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto Sexto; Bernárdez, p. 31; Arlegui, 1st ed., p. 34; Luis Tribaldo de Toledo, *Intro.*, Villagrá, and likewise Carranza, Don Juan was the husband of Doña Isabel.

[2] Carranza, p. 290.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 290.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 163. Alonso Dávila had a son, Gerónimo Dávila; grandsons, Hernando de Salazar, Joan Alonso Dávila, Francisco Dávila, Diego de Cayas; great grandsons, Alonso Dávila Magariño, Joan Magariño.

[6] For information regarding Malacatepec, see Alcedo.

[7] Carranza, p. 195.

[8] Tezcuco, a jurisdiction and *alcaldía mayor* of New Spain. It was here that king Nzahualcoyotl maintained his sovereignty, and after the establishment of the Mexican empire it was the court of the princes of the race of Montezuma. It is 15 miles e. n. e. of Mexico at the foot of the sierra, which is the e. wall of the valley of Tenoxtitlan, in lat. 19° 31′ 30″ and long. 98° 52′ w.

[9] Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, "capitan de un vergantin de los vallesteros." He left many sons and daughters, the oldest being Antonio de la Mota. Alonso de la Mota and Pedro de la Mota are his brothers. *Memorial* (anonymous) *de los conquistadores de esta Nueva España que se hallaron en la toma de Mexico y fueron despues a ganar y conquistar con el Marques del Valle las provincias de Tutupeque y la provincia de Guatemala, Honduras e Higueras que fue toda la Nueva España.* Incorporated in Appendix of Carranza's work as published by the Museo Nacional de Mexico, p. 443 *et seq.* Carranza, p. 195.

[10] Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 144, states: "Salazar arrived in the autumn, acc. to Cortés Cartas." Carranzá, p. 315, states: "Vino á esta Nueva Spaña quando el contador Rodrigo de Albornoz."

[11] Carranza, pp. 290, 315. Rodrigo de Albornóz had been secretary to the king prior to his appointment as revenue official. His appointment is dated Balladolid,

Salazar, the latter as *factor*. The strongest characteristic of Gonzalo de Salazar, grandfather of Don Juan, as gleaned from the pages of authorities who have treated of his career in Mexico, is one of subtle duplicity. Arriving in Mexico with the expectation of acquiring great and sudden wealth, he lost no time in fawning upon Cortés in the hope that he might be allowed to share in the plunder of the colonial revenue. Failing in this endeavor, because Cortés neither possessed the treasures, nor was willing to share his receipts with others, he with other revenue officials instituted a systematic attack upon the captain-general, libelling his character and his acts to the king of Spain. Cortés seems to have proved pliable to their purposes, because upon leaving on his expedition into Honduras, Salazar and Chirinos were left in charge at Mexico. This so facilitated their plan of intrigue that prior to 1526 they were in entire control of the government. During the long absence of Cortés in Honduras, false reports of his death were eagerly circulated by Salazar and his associates, thereby urging the commissioners to greater activity, and resulting in a usurpation of power. The estates of Cortés, the offices, lands, and Indians of his followers, were seized and appropriated by Salazar. Salazar was soon overthrown by a portion of the followers of Cortés who had been inspired with courage upon learning that Cortés lived. He was released on the plea of Albornóz while at the court of Spain. He went to Spain prior to 1542, and joining Soto in the expedition to Florida, narrowly escaped hanging for disobedience to his chief. He died in obscurity. When Salazar went to Spain he left his son Hernando de Salazar, uncle of Juan de Oñate, as *factor*. Hernando de Salazar left an indebtedness to the king of three hundred thousand *pesos*, and upon his death Juan Velázquez, his younger brother, bound himself to liquidate this debt. Assuming the office of *factor*, he served the king many years, in the *haciendas* of his father as well as in the *encomiendas* and pueblos of Taxímora, in the province of Michoacán and in

October 25, 1522, and reads: "cuidando hacer cargo al oficial real tercero de los tributos, servicios, composiciones que los indios y naturales de la trerra debian pagar, como de todo lo demas perteneciente en cualquier manera al real erario, segun es de ver en el tomo I de los cedularios que existen en el real tribunal de la contaduría mayor de cuentas." Fonseca, *Historia General de la Real Hacienda*, vol. 1, p. 413.

the province of Tepetlaeztoc, seven leagues from the city of Mexico.[1]

Juan Velázquez de Salazar, son of Gonzalo, was a native of Granada.[2] He married Doña Ana de Esquivel, daughter of the *tesorero*, Alonso de Mérida.[3] By 1604, the greater number of his children and their descendants were deceased, but his daughter Doña Francisca de la Cadena y Salazar, married Gaspar de Rivadeneira, and they had children. In 1604 were also living three unmarried daughters of Juan Velázquez, who were cousins of Juan de Oñate.[4] Juan Velázquez was not a *conquistador* but an *encomendero* appointed by Cortés, as was also Don Cristóbal, his brother-in-law.[5]

Although, as stated, Juan de Oñate's father, Don Cristóbal, arrived in Mexico in 1524, the first record of actual service is as captain in the confidence of Nuño de Guzmán, and the recipient of generous gifts of pueblos, which of right belonged to Cortés and others.[6] This was in 1528–29, during the period of the first Audiencia. In his relations with Guzmán, his self-respect and conservatism are a striking contrast to the "unprincipled ambition of the self-sufficient autocrat." Don Cristóbal was one of the conquerors of New Galicia.[7] He proved himself equal to the difficulties and responsibilities of the situation he encountered,

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, pp. 143–145, 193–237. Salazar y Olarte, p. 284, says: "Gonzalo de Salazar deseoso de ser unico en el dominio de la Nueva España." Also, *ibid.*, pp. 282–283: "No se ignora la confianza de nuestro celebre capitán á favor de Pedro Almindez Chirinos y de Gonzalo de Salazar; pues vencido de la persuasion, ó pagadó de la lisonja (ruido agradable de la fantasía, y flecha, que destruye el mundo de la razon), quiso conferirles el govierno de la Nueva España." Data bearing on the indebtedness left by Hernando de Salazar has been taken from Carranza, p. 290.

[2] Carranza, pp. 289–290.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 269: "Alonso de Mérida, thesorero que fué de la Casa de la Moneda y Señor de la Provincia de Metztitlan. Quedó en esta casa y sucesion Francisco de Quintana Dueñas, y en la encomienda por casamiento con Doña Mariana de Mérida, nieta del dicho thesorero por varon."

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[5] "Memorial de los que no son conquistadores y tienen Yndios encomendados de el Marqués de el Valle." Incorporated in Carranza, p. 456. Cortés gave freely to recently arrived friends who had taken no part in the conquest. Cortés, *Residencia*, pp. 48, 81–82, 259–262.

[6] Nuño de Guzmán was a native of Guadalajara in Castile, and a "caballero notorio." It is not known whether he left any descendants, and Carranza only knew Diego de Guzmán, a nephew of Nuño, in Mexico. Carranza, p. 306.

[7] For most of the events of this rebellion and the work of Oñate therein, we are indebted to the three early chroniclers: Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 362–438; Mota Padilla, *Conquista de Nueva Galicia*, 111–154; Beaumont, *Cron. Mich.*, IV, 59–66; 386–421; Ms. 300–303; 422–425; 550–580. Herrera also speaks of these

and the characteristics of the Basque people stood him in good stead. His obstinate conservatism during the Mixton War, combined with intelligence and executive ability, make Don Cristóbal a type figure. Throughout his strenuous career in the new world, and more particularly during this rebellion, his courage, combined with other qualities characterized as inherent in the "Señores de Viscaya," [1] are apparent.

While Don Cristóbal was in Galicia, his family was in the pueblo of Tacámbaro in the province of Michoacán, of which he was *encomendero*.[2] He was also *encomendero* of Culhuacán, two leagues from the city of Mexico.[3] His brother, Juan de Oñate, took a very active part in the conquest of New Galicia, and about 1531 was sent to establish Espíritu Santo, called later Guadalajara in honor of Guzmán's birthplace.[4] The movements of Don Juan prior to this time are not clear. He was a staunch partisan of Guzmán, and after the fall of the latter his brother Don Cristóbal advised him to escape. He fled to Peru, where, as some say, he died poor and blind.[5]

The relations of Guzmán's successor, Diego Pérez de la Torre,[6] and Don Cristóbal were most friendly, and upon the death of the former in the revolt of 1538, he formally appointed Cristóbal de Oñate his successor as governor, and entrusted to his protection his two marriageable daughters. Oñate proved faithful to the trust.[7]

In the year 1548 we find Cristóbal de Oñate in Zacatecas, with his friends Diego de Ibarra, Baltasar Treviño de Bañuelos, and Juan de Tolosa, all Spanish officers of rank, in search of mines.[8]

events. Original documents on the subject are few, according to Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 511.

[1] Arlegui, p. 58; Villagrá, Canto Tercero.

[2] Mota Padilla, *Conquista de Nueva Galicia*, 193.

[3] Carranza, p. 315. By royal *cédula* issued February 1534, New Spain was divided into four provinces, designated as Mexico, Michoacan, Goazacoalco, and Miztecapan. The limits of each were properly defined. Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 391, according to Puga, *Cedulario*, pp. 90–91.

[4] Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 366.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 462.

[6] Appointed governor of Nueva Galicia by *cédula*, March 17, 1536. Mota Padilla, pp. 104–109.

[7] One of the daughters married Jacinto de Pineda y Ledesma, a person of good birth, and the other married the *alferez mayor*, Fernando Flores, from whom Mota Padilla claims to be descended. Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 464.

[8] Bernárdez, p. 26. For portraits of these four men, see Bernárdez. Tolosa was known as "el rico" and nicknamed "barba longa."

They were extremely successful in their ventures, becoming the wealthiest men in America at that time.[1] Don Cristóbal came to Zacatecas accompanied by his family, and all others who might desire to accompany him.[2] The deeds of this illustrious sire are praised by all of his chroniclers, and the generosity which he displayed in Zacatecas is held to be equal to the munificence of the wealthiest *príncipes del universo*.[3] One of his chroniclers calls him "son of the most noble and ever loyal province of Álava, whose sons ever noble and generous, have always proved themselves magnanimous and renowned."[4] His Christian and fervent piety is attested to on various occasions. While in Zacatecas he had a bell with which he daily summoned to his table all who might desire to eat, a practice which he continued throughout his life.[5] That he was an excellent specimen of the old time sire, considerate, kind, and courteous, cannot be disputed. The Reverend Padre Fray Diego de Vasalanque of the order of St. Augustine, states that in order to recount the praises due to Oñate because of his generosity, an "*historia particular*" would be required, that his nobility, his courage, and his liberality kept pace with his Christian spirit; that he endeavored to care for the Indians as if they were his own, and neither he nor his son Don Fernando collected the tribute [6] from the Indians for many years, but permitted them to receive the benefit thereof, so as to help them in the construction of the missions.[7] Mota Padilla takes occasion to remark that Don Cristóbal could not have been like the other *conquistadores*.[8] The date of his death has not been determined, but we know that both he and his wife were deceased at the time Carranza wrote, which was in 1604. How many years prior to that date we do not know.[9]

Juan de Oñate, son of Cristóbal and Doña Cathalina de Salazar, was born in Mexico,[10] although we do not know the date or his

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 554.
[2] Frejes, *Historia Breve*, p. 124; Bernárdez, p. 26. For the founding of Zacatecas, see Bernárdez, pp. 1–90; Mota Padilla, p. 191.
[3] Arlegui, pp. 58–59.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 58; Bernárdez, p. 26.
[6] For history of Tributos y Reales Servicios, see Fonseca, VI.
[7] Mota Padilla, p. 103.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[9] Carranza, p. 315.
[10] *Mercurio Volante*, p. 2; Villagrá, prólogo, fol. vi.

native town.[1] We know little of his youth, although we may infer that in a stimulating environment he had every advantage that good birth and opportunities could bestow. He entered the service of the king early in life and continued therein throughout his career, being still active in 1620.[2] His general services cover "bloody encounters with the Chichimecs, the discovery of the rich mines of Zichú,[3] Charcas, and San Luis Potosí, which he peopled with Spaniards, as well as being the settler of New Mexico, where he brought many natives to the obedience of the king, thereby immortalizing himself in the history of both hemispheres."[4] He has been compared in daring to Cortés and in adventure to Columbus.[5]

Juan de Oñate married Doña Isabel Tolosa Cortés Montezuma, great granddaughter of Montezuma, granddaughter of Cortés, daughter of Juan de Tolosa and Leonor Cortés de Montezuma.[6]

[1] Davis, *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 263, says: "Don Juan de Oñate, native of Zacatecas," but no reference is given as to source of information.

[2] Bernárdez, p. 32, according to Haro's *Nobilario:* "Don Juan de Oñate, respondiendo á su valor y virtud militar despues de aver fervido a la corona de los Reyes sus Señores fus primeros años hafta el presente de 1620, con honor."

[3] Carranza, p. 129.

[4] Bernárdez, p. 32.

[5] Tribaldo de Toledo, Villagrá, *Canción Pindarica.*

[6] Villagrá, Canto Sexto; Bernárdez, p. 31; Luis Tribaldo de Toledo, *Soneto, Intro.*, Villagrá; Arlegui, 1st ed., p. 34. Cortés was first married in Cuba to Catalina Suárez, a native of Granada, in Andalusia. Her death occurred in 1522. It is supposed that by her he had a child, but nothing definite can be ascertained on this point. A natural daughter by a Cuban Indian is also mentioned at that time. His second marriage was with Doña Juana de Zúñiga. Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 483. From the second marriage he had a son Don Martín Cortés, "que sucedió en su casa y estado y vino á tener ciento y sesenta mill pesos en renta, y en discurso de 34 años creo que han quedado en quarenta mill y se va consumiendo de manera que á poco rato ó tiempo se imagina una gran ruina y acabamiento, porque los indios se acaban á prisa." Carranza, p. 99. Don Martín was married to Doña Ana Ramírez de Arellano, daughter of the Conde de Aguilar. They had a child, Don Fernado Cortés, third Marquis, who married Doña Theresa de la Cerda, sister of the Conde Chinchón. Don Martín also had another son, Don Gerónimo Cortés, "del hábito de Santiago," who had died before Carranza wrote, *i.e.* 1604. Also Don Pedro Pizarro Cortes, "del habito de Calatrava ú Alcántara." In 1604 he still lived and had inherited the estate of his brother, Don Fernado. Carranza, pp. 99–100. Don Martín also had a daughter Doña Catalina Pizarro, who married the Conde de Pliego. According to Bancroft these last two children were illegitimate. Don Martín married a second time, but Carranza says there was no issue. Cortés, the original Marqués del Valle, also had through the Zúñiga marriage three daughters, Doña Catalina, who died single; Doña Juana Cortés, who married the Duque de Alcalá, Marqués de Tarifa; Doña Maria Cortés, who married the Conde de Luna, in the city of León. Cortés also had several illegitimate children. Don Martín Cortés was the son of la Malinche, an Indian woman. He belonged to the "hábito de Santiago." This illegitimate son left an illegitimate son, Don Fernando Cortés, of whom Carranza says: "Trae una cruz á los pechos, y no de la muestra y calidad que su padre y tios y primos. Húbole en Castilla en una señora, en la ciudad de Logrono, que sin ofensa de su calidad pudiera casarse con ella, y aun con este concepto se fió ella de el. Húbole pasando á la guerra de

They had two children, Cristóbal de Oñate and María de Oñate. Dona María married the *Maestre de Campo,* Vicente de Zaldívar.[1] In 1620, at the time of the publication of Haro's *Nobilario,* the son was not married and was active in the service of the king. At that time he had already shown great courage, and had held the position of lieutenant-governor and captain-general in the province of New Mexico, where he had served Philip II and Philip III, demonstrating the soldierly qualities and the nobility of his antecedents.[2]

Where and when the lad was born, or where he obtained his "early" education, we do not know. That his father took pleasure in developing in his young son the martial spirit so predominant

Granada, por capitan, donde murió." Martín Cortés, son of Malinche, also had a daughter Doña Ana Cortés de Porres, through his marriage with Doña Bernardina de Porres, "señora de gran calidad, seso y discrecion." Doña Ana Cortés de Porres was married to a "caballero muy igual a su merecimiento" whose name is not given by Carranza. They had a son, Don Juan Cortés, who in 1604 had recently arrived in the fleet which brought the viceroy Marques de Montesclaros, to whom Carranza dedicated his work. He states that in his intercourse with Don Juan, he has always found him honorable and worthy on account of his virtues, being the son and grandson and great-grandson of worthy persons. His exact language is interesting: "de lo poco que he tratado á este caballero, y de la buena fama que tiene, le conozco por muy cuerdo y honrado y que es digno, por sus virtudes, de ser hijo y nieto de quien es, y bisnieto del gran Cortés." Carranza, pp. 100–101. Again, Cortés, the original Marqués del Valle, had a daughter Doña Leonor Cortés, who married Juan de Tolosa in Zacatecas. Doña Leonor was the daughter of Doña Isabel, oldest daughter of Montezuma. Doña Leonor had two daughters, one of whom married Don Juan de Oñate, the other married Cristóbal de Zaldívar. Doña Leonor also had other daughters whose names are not given, but who in 1604, were nuns in Seville. Carranza, pp. 100–101. Cortés also had another illegitimate son, Don Luis Cortés, "del hábito de Calatrava," que hubo en esta tierra en una muger spañola, no de las mas ignotas y escondidas, sino muger de buena suerte." This Don Luis married in Mexico Doña Guimor Vázquez de Escobar, "dama muy calificada, rica y muy hermosa." They had no children. Don Luis was taken as prisoner to Spain, and died on the journey. Both he and his brothers died "desnaturalizados de su patria, pareciéndose mucho a su padre en los trabajos que le saltaron como atajado En Castilleja de la Cuesta, y un corazón, tan grande, que no cupo en el mundo, ni se hartó ni llenó su ánimo con lo que descubrió y conquistó: le sobró en aquel lugarejo un palmo ó siete pies de tierra en que cupo aquel cuerpo y bravosidad, y acabó con sus grandes pensamientos y deseos de servir mas a su Rey, como lo mostró en la conquista de tan grandes reinos y estados, y en los que de nuevo quiso conseguir á la corona de Castilla donde gastó toda la hacienda que habia adquirido." Carranza, pp. 100–101. Martín, Luis and Catalina were legitimatized by Papal Bull, April 16, 1529. Bancroft, p. 483, according to Alamán, *Disert., ii,* 2d, app. 32–36. Philip II later restored the "jurisdiccion del Marquesado, con muy honradas palabras y efectos," to Don Fernando Cortés third Marqués del Valle, and second by the name of Fernando. In 1604, Don Pedro Cortés, his brother, had inherited the same. Carranza states that if he is "cuerdo, no deseará venir á las Indias, porque esta tierra no sufre mas señor que al que aquí nos gobierna por Su Magestad." Carranza, pp. 100–101. Salazar y Olarte, 2ª parte, p. 472 states: "cuya bastarda impresion llegó á desconocerse con el recuerdo de la nobleza de nuestro capitan, haviendose casado con caballeros distinguidos y permanentes en la gran ciudad de Mexico.

[1] Bernardez, p. 34, according to Haro's *Nobilario;* Mota Padilla, p. 193.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 34–35, according to Haro's *Nobilario.*

in his own character and that of his ancestors, going back to the Moorish struggles in Spain, is evident when we learn that when not yet ten years of age he accompanied his father on his expeditions.[1]

The ancestry of Cristóbal, Juan de Oñate's young son, great-great grandson of Montezuma, and great grandson of Cortés, is interestingly given by Villagrá:[2]

"En quien vereis al uiuo cifrados,
Todos los nobles Reyes que falieron,
Deſtas nuevas Regiones y plantaron,
La gran ciudad de Mexico, y con ellos,
Vereis tambien aquellos valeroços,
Que à fuerças de valor y de trabajos,
Eſtas remotas tierras pretendieron."

Juan de Oñate had four brothers: Don Fernando, whom we have already seen associated with his father; Don Cristóbal, Luys Núñez Pérez, and Don Alonso, all of whom were wealthy, and were summoned by Don Juan to help him in his work of exploration in New Mexico. They rendered him valuable assistance financially and acted as his agents in the responsible governmental transactions which developed out of this exploration and settlement of New Mexico, his most important undertaking.[3] Don Fernando is described in 1604 as a "cavallero muy principal." He had been *alcalde mayor* of the cities of Los Ángeles, Guajocingo and Villa de Carrion."[4]

[1] Villagrá, Canto Sexto.

"Y qual ſuelen las Aguilas Reales,
Que à los tiernos polluelos de ſu nido,
Largo trecho los facan y remontan,
Para que con esfuerço cobren fuerças,
En el libiano buelo, y del ſe balgan,
En prouechoſa y dieſtra alteneria,
Aſsi determino don Juan falieſe,
Su hijo don Chriſtóval, niño tierno,
Para que con el ſueſſe y ſe adeſtraſe,
Sirbiendoos gran ſeñor en el oficio,
De la importante guerra trabajoſa,
Siendo teſtigo fiel de ſus palabras,
Para que con las obras que alli vieſe,
Le tuuieſſe deſpues en bien ſerbiros,
Por vnico dechado, y claro exemplo."

[2] Canto Sexto. [3] *Ibid.* [4] Carranza, p. 315.

He married Doña Leonor de Rivadeneira, daughter of Hernando de Rivadeneira and Doña Maria de Mérida, his wife, daughter of the *tesorero* Alonso de Mérida and Doña Inés de Perea, his wife. They had several children: Don Fernando, the younger, Don Cristóbal, and Doña Antonia, who married Don Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia. They also had a daughter Doña Catalina, who had not married in 1604, and is described as so good a Christian that she was desirous of entering a convent so as to better serve God.[1]

Don Cristóbal married Doña María del Castillo who had died prior to 1604. Upon her death he inherited the *encomienda* of his wife, which was the pueblo of Santiago Tecali, and which yielded handsome returns. They had no children.[2] Don Cristóbal is mentioned in 1599, when, acting in the name of his brother, Juan de Oñate, he appoints Capitán Gaspar de Villagrá, "Capitán de Caballos."[3] Juan de Oñate also had a sister, Doña Maria Galarza,[4] who married Antonio de Ordaz. Her husband inherited the pueblos of Calpa and half of Chilapa from Diego de Ordaz Villagómez, nephew of Diego de Ordaz,[5] who had previously been granted these pueblos by the king in recognition of his services. Don Antonio had died before 1604. Their daughter, Juan de Oñate's niece, became heir to the various pueblos, being of the third generation. She married Ruy Dias de Mendoza,[6] her

[1] Carranza, p. 315. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Nombramiento Real de Capitán de Caballos á favor del Capitán Gaspar de Villagrá, Mexico, Agosto 20, 1599. In *Documentos relativos á Gaspar de Villagrá, Apéndice Primero*, p. 40. Incorporated in Obregón's Villagrá.

[4] Villagrá, Canto Honze.

[5] Diego de Ordaz, Capitan de los diez, segundo Procurador General que fué á Castilla. Diego de Ordaz came over with Cortés as captain of one of the vessels in the armada. He was a person of importance in New Spain, served in the wars with Cortés, until he was expelled by the natives from the city of Mexico. He was in the war of Tepeaca and there held the position of captain of infantry, and from there went as Procurador to Hayti ("la Isla española") and from there to Spain. When he returned, the land had been brought under subjection, but notwithstanding this, he was given Yautepec with its Indians and Teutila and Chiautla, and also the province of Huejocingo. He then went as governor to the Río Maranon, and through his services and qualities secured the "hábito de Santiago." This Diego de Ordaz was one of the courageous men who ascended the volcano of Popocatepetl. Although eminently successful in Mexico, having received pueblos and *encomiendas*, he never seemed satisfied and ever sought new successes. He had no legitimate descendants, but he had an illegitimate son Álvaro de Ordaz, whom Carranza knew personally, and whom they called "el volcan" in memory of his father. He was considered as legitimate, and was married to Ana de Ordaz. They had children, but all, both parents and children, were very poor. Carranza, pp. 170, 455.

[6] Villagrá, Canto Sexto.

cousin, who later helped Juan de Oñate very materially in his work of exploration and settlement of New Mexico. Both were living in 1604. Juan de Oñate at this time had another niece, whose name is not given, and who was not married.[1]

The Zaldívar brothers, Cristóbal, Francisco, Juan, and Vicente were Juan de Oñate's cousins.[2] According to Villagrá, Juan de Oñate's father was the uncle of the Zaldívars.[3] Their mother's name seems to have been Oñate, but whether she was Don Cristóbal de Oñate's sister has not been determined. The father of the Zaldívar brothers was Juan or Vicente de Zaldívar.[4] The Zaldívars were distinguished persons in the service of the king, proving the valor and worth of the illustrious and ancient house of Zaldívar, well known in Vizcaya, because of its acknowledged merit.[5]

Doña Isabel, wife of Juan de Oñate, had a brother Juan Cortés, who in 1620 had not married. Doña Isabel's sister, Doña Leonor Cortés, married Cristóbal de Zaldívar, brother of the *Maestre de Campo*.[6] They had two children, Juan and Leonor, who were cousins of Juan de Oñate's children, Cristóbal and María. Doña Isabel's mother, Doña Leonor de Cortés Montezuma, daughter of Cortés and granddaughter of Montezuma,[7] in 1604 had other daughters who were nuns in Seville.[8]

As already noted, when Cristóbal de Oñate came to Zacatecas in 1548, we do not know whether Juan de Oñate was yet born. In the data available to the writer, the first record of Juan's service

[1] Carranza, p. 171.

[2] Villagrá, Canto Sexto; Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa* (1548); Torquemada, p. 671.

[3] Villagrá, Canto Tercero and Sexto; Torquemada, p. 671.

[4] Bernárdez, according to Haro's *Nobilario*, calls him Vicente, but Mota Padilla states that his name was Juan and not Vicente, and that he was not governor, but one of the illustrious captains contemporaneous with Cristóbal de Oñate, Don Juan's father. Mota Padilla, p. 196.

[5] Haro intended to make further mention, as he himself states, of this illustrious family in his vol. 4, when dealing more in detail with the illustrious houses of Spain. This work is not available beyond quotations therefrom, interpolated in the works of other authorities. It undoubtedly would contain valuable data in a genealogical way, and might clear some of the points now left pending, *e.g.* whether the Zaldívar boys were Oñate's cousins or "*sobrinos*" as he calls them, according to Bancroft. From what has preceded it is evident that by reason of the marriage of Christóbal Zaldívar to Juan de Oñate's sister-in-law, any issue therefrom would be his "sobrinos" or "sobrinas" by marriage.

[6] Bernárdez, p. 25, according to Haro's *Nobilario;* Arlegui, p. 135; Carranza, pp. 100–101.

[7] Villagrá, Canto Sexto; Arlegui, p. 135.

[8] Carranza, pp. 100–101.

is in Zacatecas in 1574,[1] when "immediately after the founding of the eighth mission in the province of Zacatecas, namely: Santa Maria de las Charcas, the barbarous Indians reduced it to ashes. Because of the gentle preaching of the friars, and with untold hardships, they were able to rebuild it, help being furnished by Juan de Oñate, son of Cristóbal de Oñate. The mission was rebuilt in 1583." [2]

We also find that "in 1583,[3] San Luis Potosí was discovered, conquered and settled by Juan de Oñate,"[4] according to Arlegui and Bernárdez. With the exception of this limited information as to specific service in the early part of his career, we must leave Don Juan until he began negotiations for the settlement of New Mexico, for the king of Spain. At the time that he petitioned he was residing in Zacatecas. His age, his previous success, "and his general characteristics" [5] have been aptly embraced in the expression "hombre de buenas partes," prerequisites for final success. "He seemed better fitted than others who had previously undertaken the enterprise." [6]

[1] Arlegui, 1st ed., reads 1574; 2d ed., reads 1564.
[2] Bernárdez, p. 32; Arlegui, p. 66.
[3] Arlegui, pp. 56–57, 134–135; Bernárdez, p. 32.
[4] Bernárdez, pp. 32–33, says 1586. Bancroft, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 763, states: "In 1576 Luis de Leixa had penetrated northeastward and on the slope of a metal bearing mountain he founded the town of San Luis Potosí." Friar Diego de la Magdalena is also claimed as the founder. *Ibid.*, p. 763. The San Luis Potosí *Relacion Circuns.*, calls Oñate, "descubridor, conquistador, y poblador de San Luis, 1583." See Bancroft, *Hist. Ariz. and New Mexico*, p. 116.
[5] Villagrá substantiates these qualifications of Oñate when he says:

"Aſsi don Juan fin aguardar mas plazo,
Llamado de la fuerça y voz de Marte,
Y de la illuſtre ſangre generoſa,
De todos ſus maiores y paſſados,
Y deſtos grandes Reyes que dezimos,
Como el prudente Griego que las armas,
Del valeroſo Aquiles pretendia,
Por deuida juſticia que alegaua,
Aſsi dio en pretender aqueſta impreſa,
Por el derecho grande que tenia,
A ſerbiros en ella fin que alguno,
Otro mejor derecho le moſtraſe."

Canto Sexto.

[6] "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," *Col. Doc. Ined.*, vol. 16, pp. 188–189; "Carta del Virrey Velasco de 14 de Octubre, 1595."

JAPAN AND AUSTRALASIA

JAPAN'S EARLY ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

Naojiro Murakami

It is only ten years since the steamers of the Tôyô Kisen Kwaisha began to run between the ports of Japan and Mexico, but attempts to open the same route were made more than three hundred years ago by one of the greatest statesmen of Japan.

At that time, Japan was carrying on an active foreign commerce, and the *Daimyôs* vied with each other in inviting foreign vessels — Portuguese, Spanish and Chinese — to their own ports. This was, however, limited to Kyûshû, and the *Daimyôs* of the northern provinces had no share in the lucrative commerce.

In December, 1598, Fray Gerónimo de Jesus of the Franciscan Order, who came from Manila in May of the same year and was secretly ministering to the Christians in the Province of Ise, was found out and taken to the presence of Iyeyasu, then newly intrusted with the government of the country during the minority of Hideyori, heir of Hideyoshi, and destined to be the founder of the Tokugawa family of *Shôguns*. Iyeyasu wished to seize this opportunity for the development of the resources of his own provinces, and in the course of conversation with Fray Gerónimo expressed his intention of giving up the menacing attitude of Japan taken in the time of Hideyoshi towards the Philippine Islands, and of being friendly to the missionaries. He told the friar that the Spanish ships from Luzon Island would be welcome to the ports of his provinces of Kwantô and that he would also like to establish commercial relations with New Spain. In order to prepare for it, he wished to build ships after Spanish models and he desired the Philippine government to send some ship-carpenters and also pilots and sailors to teach navigation. Fray Gerónimo accordingly wrote a letter to the Governor of the Philippine

Islands, informing him of the desire of Iyeyasu and begging him to send merchant ships to Kwantô and also to give all the necessary help for opening commerce between Japan and New Spain, as it would be conducive to the propagation of Christianity in Japan. This letter was taken in 1599 by a messenger of Iyeyasu, Gioyemon by name, a native of Sakai.[1]

In those days the Philippine Islands were continually harassed by Japanese pirates, and since Hideyoshi sent an embassy in 1592 to demand subjection of the Islands to Japan, the government of Manila was always in fear of a Japanese invasion. The confiscation of the ship *San Felipe* in 1597 and the subsequent crucifixion of Spanish missionaries almost threatened a rupture between the two countries. The promise of Iyeyasu to stop all hostilities and to promote friendly relations with the Islands was, therefore, heartily welcomed by the Philippine government.[2] No immediate steps, however, were taken in response to the letter of Fray Gerónimo.

[1] See the letter of Fray Gerónimo addressed to Juan de Santa María, given in the Annexe to Léon Pagés' *Histoire de la Religion Chrétienne au Japon.* In a document in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, entitled: *Sobre el estado de las Islas Philipinas con el Japón, 1600 años* (68–1–32) the following account is given.

"Por relación del año passado de 1599 se auía sabido . . . que en este tiempo se tubo nueua cierta que por el mes de otubre de 99 auía muerto Taycosama y dexado sucessor de hedad de ocho años y se gouernaua el Xapón por diez gouernadores, el mayor dellos llamado Dayfussama, Rey de Quanto, dexando tan buena orden en el gouierno que estaua en la mesma paz y quietud que en tiempo del Taico. Tanuién auisó que en nauíos Portugueses que salieron dicho año para el Xapón se enbarcaron escondidamente dos padres de la orden de San Francisco en auitos de seglares, llamado el uno Frai Geronimo de Ihs, que antes auía ressidido en Xapón en compañía de los que padecieron muerte, y otro Frai Gomez, con ánimo de bolver á mirar por sus dicipulos y como llegados al Xapón fueron sentidos y presso Frai Gómez y por solicitud de los padres de la Cõpañía suelto embiado á Manila, en nauío que no auía aportado á las Philipinas, y que Frai Gerónimo se escondió y aunque fueron hechas muchas diligencias por mandado del rrey no pareció hasta que después de su muerte se manifestó á dicho Dayfussama, el qual le tenía en su cassa y auía escripto le daua yglesia y con que sustentarse. Así mismo se dió auisso como este Rey Dayfussama a mucho que desea trato con los españoles y que fuesen á su Reino de Quánto (está á la parte del Norte por el Japón) por el ynteres que se le podía seguir con el trato y comercio en su Reino de los españoles y que auiéndolo entendido Frai Gerónimo de Ihs, le trató de la execución de su desseo, diciendo que lo escribiría á las Philipinas y sería parte para que dellas fuessen nauíos á su tierra y que haría enbiar maestros de hacer nauíos á usso de España y pilotos para nauegallos y que tanuién se le ynbiaron mineros para beneficiar algunas minas de plata que tiene en su tierra, que no se labran por no tener quien lo entienda y con esto persuadido á Dayfu embiasse persona de su cassa á ello, como lo hizo y bino á Manila con carta del Padre Frai Geronimo en nombre de embaxador un Japón criado de Daifu nombrado Gioyemon."

[2] See the letter from Governor Don Francisco Tello to the King of Spain dated June, 1601, in Padre Colin's *Labor Evangélica, Ministerios Apostólicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesus, Fundación y Progresos de su Provincia en las Islas Filipinas,* vol. 2, p. 339.

Iyeyasu was then busily occupied in preparing for the great struggle, which ended in the victory of Sekigahara, but after establishing his authority over the whole of Japan, he again turned his attention to the matter. In October, 1601, he wrote a letter to Governor Tello,[1] informing him that according to the latter's request he had caught and punished the Japanese pirates who ravaged the Islands in the previous years and diminished the number of licenses to be given to Japanese junks for going to the Islands, and asking the governor to consider his request concerning the commerce with New Spain. A Franciscan lay brother took this letter to Manila, with another from the governor of Nagasaki.[2] Antonio de Morga mentions the arrival at Manila in 1602 of a certain Chiquiro sent by Iyeyasu. Fray Gerónimo is also said to have been sent to Manila in the same year.[3] These repeated efforts on the part of Iyeyasu caused the Audiencia to decide to send a ship to Kwantô, when in May, 1602, the new Governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, arrived at Manila. The news of the arrival of a Dutch ship at Bungo in April, 1600,[4] and of favors shown to the crew by Iyeyasu caused the governor to fear lest the Dutch should open commerce with Japan to the injury of the Spanish interests. Therefore he agreed to carry out the arrangement already made and sent a small ship to Japan, in which the Franciscan brother was sent back with his letter and presents for Iyeyasu. In his letter to the latter, dated June 1, 1602,[5] the governor said that although his predecessor had already written to the viceroy of New Spain to report to the king of Spain about the desire of Iyeyasu, he was going to do so again, and about a month later he wrote to the king [6] asking him to assent to the requests of

[1] See the *Ikoku Nikki Shô* (Extracts from a diary of foreign affairs, kept by a secretary of Iyeyasu, with my notes), 198, 199.

[2] A Spanish translation is preserved in the Archivo de Indias. It is given in the *Ikoku Nikki Shô*, appendix No. 8, and also in Padre Colin's work.

[3] See Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands*, vol. 15, pp. 251–258.

[4] The *Liefde*, the only remaining ship of the fleet of five ships which sailed from Texel in June, 1598, to come to the South Sea by way of the Straits of Magellan, was greatly damaged by storms and forced to change its course for Japan and arrived at a port of Bungo on the 19th of April, 1600. The ship was ordered to go to Sakai and thence to Uraga. Captain Quaeckernaeck and crew, eighteen in all, were kindly treated; some of them took part in the battle of Sekigahara and with their large guns helped the army of Iyeyasu to gain victory over the enemy.

[5] See the *Ikoku Nikki Shô*, 205, 206.

[6] Don Pedro says in his letter dated July 11, 1602 (Archivo de Indias, 67–6–19): "Las cossas del Japón, gloria á dios se van mejorando y Dayfussama, emperador que agora es del, no se muestra enemigo de nuestra religión como V. Md. entenderá

Iyeyasu, as it would bring many advantages, among which he enumerates the opening of new fields for the missionaries, provision of the Islands with flour and other necessaries, liberation of their coasts from pirates, freedom of the Spanish ships sailing on the

por las copias de cartes quel y otro señor de aquel reyno, priuado suyo llamado Taraçaua Ximonocami, y el obispo de Japón escriuen, que van con ésta, y por hauerse entendido quel dicho rey desea que vayan religiosos de aquí y hauer lo imbiado á pedir con un frayle descalço, que truxo su carta, he dado licencia á algunos de aquella orden que han ydo este año y tambien á otras de las de Santo Domingo y San Agustín que todos lleuan sus hautios al modo de los descalços y assí mismo he despachado un patachuelo pequeño con los Franciscos, que assí estaua ya acordado por don Francisco Tello, Audiencia y Junta de Hazienda, cossa muy deseada y pretendida por el dicho emperador y assí le lleua á cargo persona diligente y de recaudo, con orden de que vaya al vanda del norte á la prouincia de Quantoo, ques un reyno en el Japón (Patrimonio antiguo deste emperador), para que rreconozca el puerto que allí ay y los demás de aquella costa, ques paraje del uiage que hazen las naos que de aquí van á Nueua España, que no es de poca consideración. Dayfo y su priuado dan á entender que desean que V. Md. conceda facultad para embiar un nauío desde Japón á Nueua España, á contratar, y que está algo sentido, de que no se le aya respondido á este punto con resolución. Parece que darle la licencia que pide tiene poco inconuiniente y quando la tubiera es de creer que al primer viage se cansarán de ussar della, pues ni son marineros para él, ni sus nauíos á propósito, ni aun las cossas que pueden imbiar para tener salida dellas en Nueua España. Y assí suplico á V. Md. se sirua de mandar que con breuedad se prouea en esto lo que conuenga, porqué de acá se juzga por acertado tener grato este rey, assí para la entrada que se ofreze para ensanchar nuestra religión en aquel gran Reyno, como por escussar las inquietudes que suele mober en estas Yslas, y también porque pasando la amistad adelante se tiene por cierto dará puerto en su tierra á las naos que de aquí salen para Nueua España, si lo hubieren menester, que muchas vezes los tiempos recios que ay por aquel parage las desaparejan y no atreuiéndose los pilotos á arimarse á la tierra donde pudieran abrigarse y repararse, escarmentados del suceso de San Felipe, quieren más entregarse al rigor de la mar, á cuya causa han sucedido los daños que se an visto los años passados con mucha perdida de la hazienda de V. Md. y de los vecinos destas Islas, y también será remedio para que los Japones que suelen benir á rrouar á estas costas y á los Chinos y de otras naciones que aquí bienen á contratar no lo hagan que aunque hubo el castigo, quel dicho Dayfo escriue, no por esso han dejado de acudir algunos acá este año, para los quales al punto que tuue nueua hize armar dos nauíos que salieron dentro de tres días en su busca, bien armados y preuenidos de lo necessario y no dieron con ellos porque se hauían ydo ya á su tierra; sirbió esta preuención y diligencia para lo de adelánte y de animar los naturales como dizen que lo están para defenderse en semejantes ocassiones por la certeza que tienen de que han ed ser socorridos á tiempo. Al dicho emperador he dado quenta dello y pedídole que lo remedie; tienese por cierto lo hará, porque desea la contratación de aquí, ques lo que no podemos escusar por prouernos de aquel reyno de harina y otros bastimentos y assí le escreuí que embiase cada año seys nauíos á este efecto, que se les haría toda buena acogida si truxesen licencia suya, porque no trayéndola no serían conozidos si venián á rrobar ó contratar como él lo aduierte en su carta y se entenderá por la copia de la que yo le escreuí que también va aquí. Así mismo le embié á pedir con muchas veras ciertos olandeses y ingleses que á aquella costa fueron con un nabío grande, diziéndole ques gente inquieta y de mal viuir y que an negado la obediencia á V. Md. y por tenerle grato para esto y otras cossas se le ha embiado un regalo de algunas cosillas de poca importancia que en su tierra no las ay y sé que las apetece. Importaría mucho que diese esta gente, porque han de inquietar en lo ques la fee; y de los pocos que son se ha balido en una guerra que tubo este año passado con un Rey que no le quería obedezer y lleuó alguna artillería industriado dellos y sucedióle bien la jornada y assí no sé si me los embiara. De lo que en todo sucediere daré auiso á V. Md. en la primera ocassión, que también va encargado de traer estos olandeses y ingleses el rreligiosso que truxo su carta y los demás que allá han ido."

Pacific Ocean to take refuge in Japanese ports and ejection of the Dutch from Japan. He, however, believed that the Japanese would very soon give up the voyage as they were not good navigators and the merchandise they could send would not bring much profit.

Although the ship from Manila did not come to Kwantô, but entered the port of Usuki in Bungo, Iyeyasu was very much pleased with the Governor's message and presents, and the Franciscan friars were shown many favors. In 1603, Governor Acuña sent another ship to Japan, but neither this nor that of the following year arrived in Kwantô; they entered the ports of Kyûshû, whence envoys were sent to the court of Iyeyasu. In December, 1604, Father Diego Bermeo of the Franciscan Order had to write to the Governor, begging him to send a ship next year to Kwantô, as otherwise all Franciscan missionaries would be banished from the country.[1] But it was only since 1608 that the annual ships from the Philippine Islands regularly came to Uraga. Thus, after waiting for almost ten years, Iyeyasu realized one of his wishes, but nothing was done as regards the other request — the establishment of commerce with New Spain. The death of Fray Gerónimo in 1602 had deprived the cause of its chief promoter.

An event, however, happened in 1609, which unexpectedly led to the opening of the desired commerce, I mean the shipwreck of the *San Francisco*. The ship left Cavite for Acapulco in July of that year, ex-Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero on board. It met violent storms on the way and was so damaged that it was decided to put into Japan for repairs. As the knowledge of Japan was very imperfect, the ship was stranded on the 30th of September, in the night, on the coast of Kazusa, about three miles from the village of Iwada, when it was thought they were sailing in the open sea north of Japan. All believed that they were lost on an unknown island, when at daybreak a Japanese passenger on board learned from some farmers in the field that they were in Japan. They were taken to Iwada, a poor fishing village with about three hundred houses. A notice was sent to the *Daimyô* of the place, who lived in the castle of Ôdaki, about ten miles distant, and

[1] See Padre Colin's work, vol. 2, p. 341.

thence to the *Shogun's* Court. When the *Daimyô* of Ôdaki knew that the ex-Governor of Luzon, by which name the Philippine Islands were known in Japan, was among the shipwrecked, he visited him and provided for all his present needs. Don Rodrigo was then invited to the courts of Yedo and Sumpu. During the interview, Iyeyasu spoke of his desire to trade with New Spain, and tried to gain Don Rodrigo over to his idea. In Fray Louis Sotelo, who acted as interpreter on this occasion, was found a worthy successor of Fray Gerónimo. He came to Japan in 1603 and was engaged in missionary work in the Franciscan Church at Asakusa in Yedo. He burned with zeal for the conversion of the Japanese and the glory of his order. When the Dutch got permission, in September, 1609, to establish a factory at Hirado, he thought that any further delay would be fatal to the cause of the Franciscan Mission. He, therefore, did all he could to make the ex-Governor understand that it was to the interest of Spain and the Church to let Iyeyasu have what he desired. Don Rodrigo was convinced of the truth of Sotelo's views and decided to accept the offer of Iyeyasu and take passage in a Japanese ship and to use all his influence to bring about regular trade with New Spain. The ship was of one hundred and twenty tons and built a few years before by William Adams, who came to Japan in 1600 as chief pilot of the *Liefde*, and became a favorite of Iyeyasu. It was named *San Buenaventura* and left Uraga on August 1, 1610, arriving in safety at Acapulco in the end of October. This ship took the first Japanese merchants to New Spain and also an envoy from Iyeyasu to the court at Madrid. Father Sotelo was first nominated for the mission, but, as he became ill, Father Alonzo Muñoz was sent.[1]

When Don Rodrigo arrived at Mexico, an expedition for the discovery of the Gold and Silver Islands was just going to start. For some years back there were rumors about some islands in the Pacific Ocean, enormously rich in gold and silver, to which a

[1] See the relation of Don Rodrigo, given in the *Dai Nippon Shiryô* (Japanese Historical Materials), published by the Imperial University of Tokyo, Part XII, vol. 6, pp. 658–667, and Gregorio López's *Relation of Events in the Philippine Islands, 1609 and 1610*, in Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands*, vol. 17 pp. 132–137. Don Rodrigo's description of the places he visited in Japan and of the reception he had at the courts, as also his remarks about Japanese customs and manners, are very interesting.

Portuguese vessel was driven by the wind. Philip III gave orders to the viceroy to send out vessels of discovery either from New Spain or the Philippine Islands. As the islands were said to be in the vicinity of Japan, it was decided to send the expedition first to Japan, where they were to build a ship, store provisions, and thence sail to the islands. Sebastian Vizcaíno, commander of the expedition, well known in the history of California, was appointed ambassador to Japan in order to return thanks to Iyeyasu for the kindness shown towards the unfortunate crew of the *San Francisco*. Vizcaíno left Mexico on March 7, 1611, embarked at Acapulco in a ship, also called *San Francisco*,[1] and set sail on the 22d of the same month. The ship arrived at Uraga on July 10, 1611. The Japanese who went to Mexico in 1610, twenty-three in all, returned in the same ship with cloths, velvets, wines, etc.; the money advanced by Iyeyasu to Don Rodrigo and the value of the Japanese ship were also invested in Mexican goods.

The ambassador was first received at Yedo by Hidetada and then at Sumpu by Iyeyasu, to whom the letter of thanks from the viceroy was presented with his gifts, among which were the portraits of the king and queen of Spain. After delivering his messages Vizcaíno asked and received permission from Iyeyasu for surveying the eastern coast of Japan, in order to find safe anchoring places for Spanish ships. He also got permission to build a ship, but on inquiry he found the charges exorbitant and accepted Hidetada's offer to build one at his own expense on condition that the general should lend him ship-carpenters and then take in the ship some Japanese merchants to New Spain. He then went overland to Sendai, where he saw Masamune Date, the most powerful of the *Daimyôs* of the northern provinces, and then surveyed the coast of his provinces of Ŏshû, starting from Shiogama and proceeding as far north as Kombaku, during the course of which he found many good ports. He then returned to Sendai and the survey was continued along the coast to Uraga, and thence to Osaka, and four copies of the map of the survey were made at

[1] In a letter to the king, dated March 18, 1611, the viceroy of Mexico says that he purchased the Japanese ship and was equipping it for the voyage of discovery. But it seems that another ship was taken for the voyage, as William Adams says in his letter of October, 1611, that the ship he built was then in the South Sea. He was in Uraga when the *San Francisco* was there; if it had been the ship he built, he would have recognized it.

Kyôto, one for Iyeyasu, another for Hidetada, and the remaining copies for the king of Spain. The map would be of great interest, but so far it has not been found either in Japan or in Spain.[1]

The general then took leave of Iyeyasu and Hidetada,[2] and, as he found the ship built by Hidetada unfit for his purposes, sailed in the old ship on September 16, 1612. On the 25th of September, the ship arrived at the place where the Gold and Silver Islands were located on the chart, but no island could be found. The search was continued until the 14th of October, since which day violent storms frequently arose and so damaged the ship that the general was obliged to make for Uraga, where he arrived on the 7th of November. He immediately reported to Iyeyasu the need he was in and asked for his help, but after trying in vain for five months to get access to his presence, the general found that there was no hope of getting any help from the government. This attitude of the Japanese government seems to have been partly due to ill feeling caused by the discovery of the true object of the mission.[3] The uncompromising attitude of the Spanish ambassador in the negotiations concerning the etiquette to be observed on his reception at the courts was another cause of displeasure. The survey of the coast was also represented by the Dutch as preliminary to an invasion of Japan by Spanish forces, but Iyeyasu did not believe in it, He had been prepared for such a survey by Fray Gerónimo. The general then tried to borrow money from some Spaniards at Nagasaki, thereby to build a ship, but in this he also failed. In his report he says that all this was due to the intrigues of some Franciscan fathers,

[1] The *Relación del viaje hecho para el descubrimiento de las islas llamadas "Ricas de Oro y Plata," situadas en el Japón, siendo Virey de la Nueva España Don Luis de Valasco y su hijo, Sebastián Vizcaíno, general de la Espedición*, first published in the eighth volume of the *Colección de documentos inéditos*, contains a minute account of Sebastian Vizcaíno's visit to Japan, and his voyage of discovery. See the *Dai Nippon Shiryô*, Part XII, vol. 8, pp. 734–819, vol. 12, pp. 14–21.

[2] Their letters to the Viceroy of Mexico are given in the *Ikoku Nikki Shô*, pp. 50–64.

[3] It is true, Sebastian Vizcaíno told Iyeyasu about the voyage of discovery and proposed to take some Japanese with him; but this was only after he had found out that the ex-Shogun had heard all about it from the Dutch. Although Iyeyasu is reported to have said that he had no objection to the Spaniards' undertaking the discovery, as he would claim the Islands if they were within the Japanese territory, and if not, he had no reason to complain, yet it is quite natural that he should resent the attempt to deceive him.

especially Father Sotelo. From the news he received from Mexico, Sotelo understood that there were many difficulties to the success of Father Muñoz's mission, and wished by going himself to persuade the viceroy and the Spanish government to agree to the opening of Mexican ports to Japan. As the general did not allow him to go in his ship, Father Sotelo started for Mexico in the ship of Hidetada, but the ship sank just outside the port of Uraga. He was very intimate with Masamune, lord of Ôshû, and knew that the latter wished to trade with New Spain. He, therefore, advised the *Daimyô* to build a ship for taking Sebastian Vizcaíno and his crew to Mexico and to send by the ship an embassy to Europe in order to make a commercial treaty with the king of Spain, and to ask the Pope to send Franciscan friars from Mexico.

Masamune first came to entertain the idea of opening his ports to foreign commerce when he was informed of the discovery of many good ports in his own provinces. He intimated his wishes to the general, but the latter knew that the viceroy was not favorable to opening ports to Japan and did not give any definite answer. Now that no other means could be found for returning to Mexico, Vizcaíno was glad to accept Masamune's proposal and engaged to build a ship for him and bring it to Mexico.

The ship sailed from the port of Tsukinoura[1] on the 27th of October, 1613, with Masamune's ambassadors, Rokuyemon Hasekura and Father Sotelo, and suite, with a large number of Japanese merchants and sailors on board. A large quantity of goods was freighted by merchants of Sendai and Yedo. The ship arrived at Acapulco on January 25th, 1614, and the embassy proceeded to Mexico.

We must now return to Father Muñoz, whom we left at Mexico, on his arrival there in November, 1610. He crossed over to Spain in the fleet of 1611, and arriving at Madrid in December,

[1] This port is mentioned in Vizcaíno's report. It was found to be well sheltered and the name of San Felipe was given to it. The village contains at present only a few fishermen's houses. There is a spot called "*Namban-goya*" (the hut of "Southern Barbarians," which was the name for the Portuguese and the Spaniards at that time). This is supposed to be the site of the yards where Masamune's ship was built.

In a map of Acapulco in Nicolás Cardona's *Descripciones geographicas e hydrographicas de muchas tierras y mares del Norte y Sur, en las Indias, en especial del descubrimiento del Reyno de la California*, 1632, of which there is a photographic copy in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, a picture of a small ship with two masts is given. As it is described as a ship from Japan (Una nao que avía venido del Japón), it must be the ship of Masamune.

presented to the king the letters[1] from Iyeyasu and Hidetada with their presents. The Council of the Indies was ordered to consider what answer was to be sent to Japan.

While Don Rodrigo was still in Japan, a ship from Macao was destroyed at Nagasaki. The commander of the ship was the commandant of Macao, when the crew of a Japanese vessel from Arima were killed for rising against the authorities. On his arrival at Nagasaki, the general was summoned to appear before the Governor of Nagasaki and explain the reason for the measures he had taken. As he did not obey the summons and tried to get away, the ship was attacked by numerous Japanese boats. During the fight, the powder magazine took fire and the ship was sunk with all the crew on the 6th of January, 1610. This caused great consternation in Macao. The prosperity of the city was almost entirely due to the commerce with Japan, and its cessation meant desolation to the whole community. The municipal authorities therefore resolved to take measures for preventing so great a disaster, and in doing so were heartily supported by the Jesuits.

The Jesuits came to Japan soon after the Portuguese trade was opened and in 1584 were given the sole privilege of preaching in the country. They were angry with the Franciscans for coming to the country in disregard of the bull of Pope Gregory XIII, and for managing to get in 1600 a new bull from Clement VIII, which permitted all orders to enter Japan, although on condition that they did so *viâ* Macao. They repeatedly appealed to the Archbishop of Manila and to the king of Spain against the unlawful entrance of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders, but these continued to increase in number and in influence. In the destruction of the Portuguese ship they saw, or pretended to see, the hand of their enemies. They affirmed that the Japanese government took such a daring step because it was assured by the Franciscans that the Philippine commerce would make up for the loss of the Portuguese trade, and joined with the municipal authorities in requesting the authorities of Manila not to send any more ships and missionaries in order that Japan should make

[1] The original letters are kept in the Archivo de Indias. See the *Dai Nippon Shiryô*, Part XII, vol. 7, pp. 215, 216.

amendment for the damages done to the Portuguese and again welcome the ships from Macao. The Bishop of China undertook the negotiations in person and got the municipal Council of Manila to decide in favor of the request. Petitions were then sent to the king asking him to suppress the trade of the Philippine Islands with Japan and not to permit Japan to open commerce with New Spain. The papers [1] were sent to the Council of Portugal and the reports were in favor of the petition, but the Council of the Indies reported to the king in May, 1612, that it was advisable to open commerce with Japan *viâ* Mexico.[2] The interests of the Spanish colonies were always placed above those of Portugal and her colonies.

In the end of that year, however, a letter [3] came from the Audiencia of Manila asking the king not to listen to the representations of Don Rodrigo and Father Muñoz, as Japanese commerce with New Spain would be injurious to the interests of Spain. It was alleged that there was no fear of any invasion of the Islands by the Japanese so long as they were not taught navigation; but if Japanese vessels were allowed to come to New Spain, the Japanese would very soon become a menace to the Spanish dominions in America, just as they were to the Philippine Islands. The true reason, however, for the opposition of the Philippine government was their desire to keep up their own trade with Japan, which, it was feared, would suffer greatly from competition with New Spain. As the Japanese commerce grew in importance the Islands came to depend upon it for the supply of silver, provisions, ammunition and materials for shipbuilding, in exchange for which they exported goods from China and Spain at good profit.[4]

On receiving this letter the Council of the Indies decided to reconsider its report and to wait for further news from the Philippines; but as Father Muñoz continually importuned them for

[1] The "Consultas del Consejo de Portugal" of January 4th and 29th, 1612, with accompanying papers from Macao. Archivo de Indias, 67–6–4.

[2] See the "Consulta del Consejo de Indias" of May 18, 1612. Archivo de Indias, 67–6–4. This and most of the documents referred to in the following pages are given in the *Dai Nippon Shiryô*, Part XII, vol. 12.

[3] This letter is dated July 16, 1611. Archivo de Indias, 68–4–12.

[4] The importance of Japanese commerce to the Islands was so generally felt that some years later Fray Diego Aduarte went so far as to ask the Spanish government to prohibit the Portuguese of Macao from trading with Japan. He thought it was demonstrated by experience that if all the trade to Japan were theirs, the

an answer, it was decided, in June, 1613,[1] to send a letter to Iyeyasu promising him to send one vessel yearly from New Spain if the latter protected the Spaniards and allowed the missionaries to work for the conversion of his subjects. Father Muñoz was intrusted with the letter[2] and some presents in return for those sent from Japan, but on account of illness Fray Diego de Santa Catalina was substituted, who went to Mexico with two other Franciscan friars. While they were still in Mexico, the embassy from Masamune arrived at the city.

As we have already seen, the attempt of the Jesuits to break the intercourse of Japan with the Philippine Islands failed, but they consoled themselves with the success of an embassy sent by the viceroy of Goa in 1611 to reëstablish the commerce of Macao with Japan, thereby assuring the maintenance of their own order. They, however, got alarmed when they learned that Father Sotelo was going with an embassy from Masamune to Europe. They owed their own predominant influence in Japan largely to the success of an embassy from the Christian *Daimyôs* of Kyûshû which visited Europe under their guidance in the end of the sixteenth century. If the Franciscans succeeded in their embassy, they were sure to get ascendancy in Japan. So the Jesuits set themselves to hindering and discrediting the embassy. They could not prevent its leaving Japan, but their efforts, together with that of Sebastian Vizcaíno, who bore ill will towards Father Sotelo, succeeded so far as to induce the viceroy of New Spain to doubt the sincerity of Masamune and distrust Father Sotelo. The viceroy reported to the king the opinions he had formed about the embassy and decided in the first place to detain Fray Diego for another year, and to ask the king for new instructions about the envoys, as Iyeyasu was persecuting Christians contrary to his promise. The viceroy, however, dissimulated his feelings towards the ambassadors and treated them well and gave them passage to Spain on the fleet of 1614.

Islands could be very easily maintained without any further help from Mexico and Spain. He urged that the inhabitants of Macao could be removed to India (Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands*, vol. 18, pp. 194–203). The Islands actually suffered very much when Japan was closed to the Spaniards in 1624, and the governors were repeatedly instructed to look for an opportunity to reëstablish commercial relations with Japan.

[1] See the "Consultas del Consejo de Indias" of May 10th and June 14th, 1613. Archivo de Indias, 67–6–4.

[2] A draft of the letter, dated June 20, 1613, is preserved in the Archivo de Indias, 87–5–2.

The embassy arrived at San Lucar de Barrameda in the beginning of October, 1614, and went *viâ* Seville to Madrid. There Fathers Sotelo and Muñoz succeeded in persuading the government to send Fray Diego to Japan in the ship of Masamune, which had been detained at Acapulco by the viceroy, pending the orders of the king whether to send them direct to Japan or by way of the Philippine Islands. The letter to Iyeyasu was, however, revised, the clause about sending a ship from New Spain every year being omitted.[1] The Franciscan friars left Acapulco in April, 1615, and arrived at Uraga on the 15th of August. Iyeyasu was then engaged in the final siege of Osaka, which ended in the complete defeat and death of Hideyori. The envoys had, therefore, to wait for more than two months before they were received by Iyeyasu. They then went to Yedo to see Hidetada, but could not get access to the court, and were finally ordered to leave Japan with the presents from the king of Spain. This was in accordance with the new policy adopted by Hidetada towards foreign commerce and Christianity. All missionaries were to be sent away and the preaching of Christianity was to be strictly forbidden. The foreign merchants who had been hitherto allowed to trade in the interior were ordered to do their business only in a few open ports — Uraga, Nagasaki, and Hirado. The death of Iyeyasu in July, 1616, marks the end of Japan's open commerce with foreign countries. The Spanish envoys were, in disregard of the orders of the viceroy which forbade the Japanese to come again to New Spain and ordered the Spanish who came in the Japanese ship to return by way of the Philippine Islands, forced to take passage in the ship of Masamune, which went out in September, 1616, on her second voyage for New Spain, where she was to meet the embassy from Masamune on its way from Europe.

We have already seen that the Jesuits did all in their power to discredit the embassy, but it was of no avail and the ambassadors were enthusiastically welcomed all over Spain. They were received in audience by King Philip III and were sent at his expense to Rome, where Pope Paul V received them with fatherly tenderness and granted them almost everything they asked for.

[1] Archivo de Indias, 87–5–2. Draft of a letter addressed to Hidetada is in the same volume.

He promised to use his influence with Philip III to create a new bishopric of Northern Japan in Ôshû, the province of Masamune, nominating Father Sotelo to the office, and to establish commercial relations between Japan and New Spain. The Senate of Rome made Hasekura a patrician and presented the chief members of the embassy with the citizenship of Rome. The embassy was entertained on their way back to Spain by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Doge of Genoa.

But when the ambassadors returned to Spain, they found a decided change in the attitude of the government. It was chiefly due to the persecution of Christians in Japan, and although they refused to return before the object of the embassy was attained, they were obliged to leave for Mexico in July, 1617.

On arriving at Mexico, they learned that their ship was waiting at Acapulco, but this time they were told to return by way of the Philippine Islands, for which they set sail in April, 1618, in company with the fleet of Don Alonso Fajardo, the new governor of the Islands. Soon after their arrival at Manila, the Islands were threatened with an attack by the Dutch. The governor therefore asked the Japanese ambassador to sell his ship and equipped her for the coming fight. Hasekura and his suite took passage in a junk and arrived at Sendai in August, 1620, after a long absence of seven years.[1]

The repeated attempts of Japan to bring the countries on the opposite sides of the Pacific Ocean into close commercial relations thus ended in failure. During the years of her seclusion even the fact that such attempts were ever made came to be forgotten, and the idea was first realized after a lapse of almost two centuries and a half, when the United States induced Japan to open the country, almost against her will.

[1] The embassy of Masamune to Europe is one of the most interesting episodes of Japanese history, but nothing about it was known in Japan before the attention of Ambassador Iwakura and his suite was drawn to it in 1873 when they visited Venice. Later investigations by Italian and Japanese scholars have brought to light an immense amount of material preserved in the archives of Italy, Spain, and Japan. All the materials hitherto discovered are given in the *Dai Nippon Shiryô*, Part XII, Vol. 12, which volume is devoted entirely to that embassy.

SOCIAL REACTIONS OF BUDDHISM IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

K. Asakawa

Buddhism, when it found its way from the Asiatic continent into Japan for the first time in the sixth century, had already undergone an evolution of one thousand years since the time of its founder, and thenceforth continued to come to Japan, with further changes, for about seven hundred years. All or nearly all of the Buddhism received here, therefore, was not Buddha's teaching in its original form, but its later development that called itself the Mahâyâna, or the Great Vehicle. The Mahâyâna Buddhism, coming, as it did, through India, Gandhara, Turkestan, China, and Korea, in the course of its long career, had incorporated into itself beliefs and ideas extremely diverse in origin and quality. They, in fact, comprised the whole extent of the religious experience of man, from cults and rites derived largely from primitive beliefs of different races, at one end of the development, to a salvation through faith in a single Buddha, at another end, and also to a union of the individual with a cosmic life attainable through independent spiritual effort. Out of this rich storehouse, the Japanese society, during the more than thirteen centuries after the sixth, has made, in accordance with the changing needs of the succeeding ages, a remarkable series of progressive selections and adaptations of Buddhist ideas.

It is my belief that, in the study of the religious history of any people, its doctrinal, institutional, and cultural phases should be supplemented by an inquiry into another aspect of vital importance, namely, the progressive mutual reaction that may be discovered between these conventional factors and the complex and ever-changing social life of the nation. It is the social conditions in a broad sense, rather than any other single element,

that adapt the doctrine, fashion the institutions, and determine the general forms of the artistic expressions, of a national religion, which may persist till further changes are wrought under altered conditions. And the value of this social point of view is demonstrated in a striking fashion in the history of the manner in which the various phases of the Mahâyâna Buddhism and the shifting religious needs of society have successively reacted upon each other in Japan. It is the purpose of this brief paper to select out of this long evolution in adaptation the period that lies between the advent of the religion and the introduction of the last phases of its newer forms, covering the seven centuries from the sixth to the thirteenth, and to attempt a few broad suggestions culled from independent research concerning some of the larger social reactions of Buddhism in this period.

I

Let us first observe the state of society in the middle of the sixth century, for it was the society that confronted Buddhism when it was transmitted from Korea. Economically, the Japan of that early age may be considered as belonging to the agricultural stage of a southern type: pastoral life was unknown, and the chief industry was the rice culture, which required an intensive method of cultivation, and consequently involved the private possession of rice-land, whether by the individual or by the family. Iron had long been in use, a fact which indicated a considerable diversity of crafts and small industries and the existence of gilds besides family organizations. The family seemed still to retain traces of a previous condition in matriarchy, especially in the relation between the sexes and in succession; the family had, however, in fact not only advanced to the patriarchal stage, but had already had recourse to artificial means in order to perpetuate the semblance of the tribal organization which the controlling section of the society was outgrowing. The head of the nation was the emperor, who was upheld as the direct descendant of the ancestral deities of the ruling tribe, and who in that capacity solicited their divine protection in behalf of the good harvest of the land and tranquillity among the people.

In such a community, it was to be expected that the individual should be, as he was, so bound by rigid custom and by his status in the family and society, as to be still ignorant of the comparative freedom of personal conduct of a later age and of the moral responsibility which that freedom would entail upon him. His point of view was, therefore, still non-moral, in the sense that his conduct and career were not to any appreciable extent within his moral control and responsibility. Being non-moral, he was liable, when social restraint was for any reason relaxed and when his own interest came into conflict with that of another, to descend to what may from a later standpoint be deemed as a ruthless opportunism — a characteristic feature in all ages in which the selfish interest of man is still uncontrolled save by custom.

Accordingly, the religion of the Japanese before the introduction of Buddhism consisted of miscellaneous beliefs and rites regarding ghosts and spirits of a non-moral type. The main characteristics of religions of this stage are so common and so well known in different parts of the world that they need not be enumerated. In the Japan of the sixth century, the greatest peculiarity about her innumerable deities was that chief among them were the ancestral spirits of the ruling house and tribe, and were, in consequence, of large political importance; the imperial house sought to insure its security, as well by inculcating beliefs in these deities among the people and invoking their divine aid for the peace and the agricultural welfare of the realm, as by more purely political means. It was natural that, being born of a society so clearly before the awakening of this individual moral sense of its members, most of their deities should, as they did, possess but vague personal characters, prayers addressed to them should lack intensity of feeling, the ideas of sin be material and largely accidental, and the religious acts be almost wholly ritual or magical in nature.

With this native cult, the essential character of Buddhism, which was formally introduced from a Korean Court into the Japanese in 552, stood in the sharpest possible contrast. Buddhism, as such, was to the last degree moral; that is, its scheme of salvation was built upon the conduct of the individual as the sole responsible maker of his own destiny. Again, Buddhism, as

such, denied the existence of either soul, ghost, or deity. It is true that the Mahâyâna Buddhism that came to Japan had, during its long progression through Asia, embraced a large number of deities, but it treated them as convenient popular manifestations of the universal Law; and the Law, in its philosophical aspects, was the essence of the purest pantheism that Indian thought had evolved. What manner of reaction upon such a high religion must one expect from the non-moral beliefs in deities of the ancient Japanese with which it now came in contact? Was there a likelihood of their comprehending the new doctrine so immeasurably beyond their stage of culture? Would they not rather be liable to regard Buddhist deities as so many real agents for good or ill fortune superadded to their own deities and more potent than the latter, instead of mere instruments of truth as the new deities were taught to be? Would not the people at once proceed to invoke their aid, as they had been wont to invoke that of their ancestral gods, for the sake of the non-spiritual, material blessings that they sought?

II

Such was precisely the manner in which Buddhism was treated by the Japanese during the first half of our period, and the history of this unspiritual manner is in itself a notable evolution. Confining our attention for the present to the period ending with the close of the eighth century, we are compelled to admit that Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, devas, and other Buddhist deities were conceived by the Japanese as so many real, not apparent, gods; that their beneficent intervention was asked chiefly for welfare on earth; that all the religious acts of the new order, such as the copying and reciting of sutras, the making of images, the building of temples, and the taking of the tonsure, were generally regarded as meritorious offerings or investments looking for tangible returns in the world. Neither the motives for the retirement, nor the main reasons for the personal influence, of the greater priests of the age, can be said to have been spiritual in character. The old religious attitude of the people was not only not altered radically, but was, on the contrary, reinforced and intensified by the reception of so many novel and powerful deities; not only were

the deities multiplied, but the former religious habits of the Japanese mind were stimulated into new vigor, the old beliefs and rites deepened, and ancient gods raised to the level of the new. Hence it was that the people could observe no essential difference between the old gods thus revivified and the numerous alien spirits they had now adopted, and that usually the same person served both with equal devotion. The deities, in fact, were seldom conceived to be exclusive of each other; although it was not yet commonly taught that Buddhist deities were reincarnated in the *kami*, the former were eagerly accepted as welcome additions to the latter that brought a double measure of security for the welfare of the emperor and of the people.

Moreover, with its inspiring religious art, Buddhism served as great medium of the culture of East Asia which the Japanese Court at that time was adopting with fervor. The rise in central Japan of Buddhist temples of simple and dignified architectural beauty, containing magnificent and wholly novel works of sculpture and decorative art, carried with it an irresistible appeal to the senses of the people, and charmed them to the conviction of the excellence of the new faith.

Under so markedly hedonistic and sensual a conception of Buddhism, what was more natural than that its followers in Japan remained insensible to nearly all the higher aspects of its great message? Not only was the universal Law in its true import hidden from their view, but also was the peculiar altruism of the Bodhisattva vehicle repeated only mechanically and at rare intervals. Even an idea so fundamental to all forms of Buddhism as that of *karma* gained as yet little hold on the mind, and the authorities were clearly opposed to its propagation. Had Buddha or even Nagarjuna risen from his grave, he could hardly have recognized Buddhism in what passed under that name in the Japan of the eighth century but taught few of the central ideas animating the wonderfully figurative language of the Mahâyâna literature.

Nothing more clearly embodied the general attitude of the age toward the religion than the policy which the Japanese government had adopted in regard to the Buddhist church. After a varied experience of a century and a half, the authorities in the eighth

century had ended in assigning to the church a large and distinct place in the new state-system which they had organized. In this new polity, there were, between the emperor at the apex and the unfree people at the base, two main classes of citizens, namely, the noble and the free, the former constituting the governing and the latter the producing and supporting divisions of the nation. The Buddhist temples together with Shinto institutions formed a third estate, whose functions were, not so much to spread religious beliefs among the people, as to perform services that should secure the welfare of the emperor and the State. With this end in view, the Buddhist church was organized in a loose hierarchy and given a degree of self-government in the administration of its affairs. Not only was it thought incompatible with the clearly defined duties of the church to the State that it should teach the karmic philosophy or induce people to renounce the vanities of the world, but also were these acts, essentially Buddhistic as they were, condemned by law as subversive of social order. For similar reasons, the priests and nuns were ordained and registered in accordance with law, and no private ordination was allowed. In order that the church should perform its duties with undivided zeal, the temples that were officially recognized were supported with grants of land and exempted from taxation, and, in consequence, were forbidden to acquire more land or to engage in other economic pursuits. In short, the Buddhist church was, from the official standpoint of the eighth century, an indispensable organ in the performance of the life of the new State, the function of the church to invoke the good will of the deities for public welfare being coördinate with the function of the nobility to govern the people and that of the free citizens to supply the means of government.

III

As we pass on to the Buddhism that prevailed among the nobility of Kyōto between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, we find ourselves moving in an atmosphere still largely non-moral, but at the same time discover here certain subtle influences at work that gradually prepared the way for a less hedonistic and more spiritual form of Buddhism to rise toward the end of this period.

Before we describe these delicate changes, it is again necessary to make a brief survey of the social life of the nobles at Kyōto; for in Kyōto, the metropolis, was centered the peculiar culture of the bureaucratic Japan, and only under the influence of this culture could the Buddhism of this period become what it was.

One of the notable features of aristocratic life at Kyōto, and, in consequence, of the whole culture of the Court, was the markedly feminine feeling that characterized thought and action. Not only was the noble lady influential in all society, but the noble lord also was deeply affected by her tendency to delight in beauty that appealed to the senses, to dwell rather on the manner than on the matter regarding questions of culture, and to think and act in terms of sentiment and personality. We cannot tarry here to seek an explanation of this condition, nor even to describe any of the far-reaching effects that it exerted upon the culture of the period; it will suffice merely to refer to the existence of this state of things in the background of the Buddhistic life of this singular age.

The life of the noble was circumscribed by status and by inflexible rules and conventions of social behavior, which he could defy only at the risk of his career. But his society was not only narrow and rigid, but also capricious, for the conduct of its affairs was largely determined by the changing moods of persons whose self-interest was uncontrolled by inner discipline or fixed principles. However high his native ability, therefore, the individual person was in no small measure the plaything of external forces, personal or otherwise, which were beyond his moral control and responsibility. Having acquired little freedom or desire to win his career by his own effort, his success in life usually depended on the social prestige of his family and on the patronage of some influential person. Failing these, the best that the individual could do was to adjust his interest to that of the fickle society and drift along the line of least resistance. If by good luck he succeeded in acquiring power, he was not seldom liable to wield it without scruple; for, having, as he did, little spiritual control or moral strength, what was there to curb his selfishness but his regard for the general disapproval of inelegant manners?

Indeed, what more or less tended to rob this non-moral life of

the extreme coarseness that would otherwise have characterized it was: the modal culture of a high aesthetic type that had been evolved in Kyōto in an atmosphere of peace and comfort; and a sense of ready human sympathy in a good manner, a feature even more clearly feminine in character than the general culture of which it was a mark. The sanction of culture and propriety was, however, external, and hardly of value at a critical moment; nor at any time could it make demands upon a person which in a more spirited age would bring his moral nature to the test. As for the effect upon his normal life, whether in its daily routine or in its occasional social diversions, it is evident that such a sanction could rarely serve to quicken the moral tone uniformly so dull.

Under the cumulative influence of generations, therefore, it would seem but natural that the noble should, as he did, emerge from this period without an adequate spiritual force to meet the loss of his wealth and power with which he was threatened, as we shall see, by the strong feudal warrior.

Returning now to the state of Buddhism that prevailed among the Court nobility, it will be noted that the system of maintaining officially recognized temples and an officially ordained clergy still remained in force and for the same public purposes as in the eighth century. What is even more important, the same non-moral point of view respecting Buddhism and the same tendency to regard its deities as agents of fortune, not only persisted, but were much intensified by the more engrossing desire for personal welfare and the increased fear of ghosts which an enervating court life had engendered. It is a matter of great interest, however, that at the same time, subtler influences had crept in that in some cases imperceptibly but in all instances surely changed the nature of the Buddhism that was favored. To some of these changes we shall now briefly refer, beginning with those which came earlier and were more visible than others.

Side by side with the treatment of the church as an official mediator between the State and the deities, there had naturally grown up a custom among the nobles, gaining in popularity throughout this period, of founding and endowing private temples and monasteries for the sake of the personal welfare of the donors. And the very conception of the welfare to be secured had under-

gone an important extension; in addition to the old notions of the blessings to be enjoyed on earth, the new idea included, as its chief factors, the extinction of the sinful *karma* of a former life causing the woes of the present, and the repose or the salvation of the soul after death. This, of course, implied motives for deeper devotion as well as for the increase of religious institutions. Simultaneously, the enlarged idea of the blessing under Buddhist tutelage tended greatly to stimulate the sense of dependence upon deities, or, in other words, to make their supposed intervention in one's affairs both during lifetime and after death not only more general but also more intimately pervasive. And this general tendency grew parallel with the influence of one special sect of Buddhism, namely, the Shingon; for, however profound its philosophy in pantheistic mysticism, the Shingon was to all appearance characterized by its systematically wrought pantheon of innumerable deities and its bewilderingly elaborate ritualism. Nor did the clever priestcraft of the sect desist from nurturing the habit among the laity of regarding the deities as so many real agents of miraculous power and of fancying that an implicit reliance on the efficacy of the rich paraphernalia of ritualism constituted the very substance of religious devotion. And the influence of this formalistic Shingon was asserted in an exhaustive fashion through its great temples in possession of immense material wealth and its great priests wielding tremendous social power, that typified and lent color to the general religious life of the age. In fact, the mystic beliefs and rituals of this form of Buddhism were so successfully exploited and so closely interwoven into the life of the nobility as to form almost its integral part. On all occasions of birth, death, disease, and other ills of private life, and of drought, storm, famine, pestilence, and other public calamities, as well as many happy events, appropriate rites were performed and deities invoked by the ubiquitous Shingon priest. It was thus that the Court Buddhism of this period became, in character, at once aristocratic, formal, and priestly.

Underneath the luxuriant growth of the mystic ritualism of Shingon, however, there rose an understanding of Buddhism, at first almost unnoticed, but gradually visible and finally general, which was at once deeper and more serious. Now at length was

discernible an increasing assimilation of the Buddhist doctrine of the transitoriness of life and of the karmic view of the world, not as embodied in forms and institutions, but as a habit of mind of the believer. We should suppose that the more reflective souls had been led to this deeper understanding by their observation, among other things, of the vicissitudes of human fortune that were so often enacted before them at Court among aspirants for power; the occasional natural calamities in the country, also, may have aided the reflective mood, for they were always liable in that agricultural age to unsettle the whole economic life of the nation, causing misery to the peasantry and embarrassment to the nobility. Whatever the explanation, the tendency once begun spread with remarkable persistency among the aristocratic circles at Kyōto. And characteristically of the period, the current conception of *karma* and of the unreliability of the world was, for the most part, negative and resigned. Men looked more to the past as an antecedent of the present than to the present as the creating cause of the future; they habitually referred to probable sins committed in a forgotten past life and their evil *karma*, not so much in order to set about expiating the past or to rebel against the blind yoke of the past for which the present could not be held responsible, as in order to reconcile themselves to the woes of the moment as they occurred. The new understanding was, therefore, altogether a partial and feeble conception of the intensely moral teaching of Buddha, but must none the less be considered as more serious in nature than any idea that any large group of Japanese had ever entertained of Buddhism. And these soberly passive ideas slowly but surely entered into the feeling of the noble circles with increasing depth, till they had at the end of this period become the very texture of the graceful literature of Kyōto so delicately sad in tone.

Thus we find the Japanese Buddhism in the eleventh century aristocratic in spirit, ritualistic in form, and in mood passively resigned. The ideal religious life remained, as might be expected, monastic; that is, attainable only by the renunciation of social ties and by retirement. The laity usually depended on the priest for complete requisite forms of worship, but in their mundane life could take refuge in the thought of their fleeting lives and pre-

ordained destinies, and of the possible ultimate rest or salvation of their souls after death and of the souls of their deceased kin to be secured by devotion and munificence to Buddhist institutions during life. The Buddhism of the eleventh century may, therefore, be said to have become a little less hedonistic and a little more spiritual in character than it was three hundred years before, though passive and still not a little non-moral. At least Buddhism had been more assimilated to the culture and entered more intimately into the life of the class that fostered it, than might be said of the religion in its own surroundings in the eighth century.

IV

While these gentle changes were slowly taking place in the Buddhism of the leisured classes at the metropolis, a tremendous social upheaval was in progress in the country at large that finally resulted in a complete undermining of the polity organized in the seventh century and in the firm establishment of a new class of society, — a class which was largely private and illegal in origin, but had arrogated to itself one after another all the public functions of state. This new class was feudal, and the feudal lords were the practical rulers of the Japanese nation after the end of the twelfth century.

With these men of arms we find ourselves in a new world of thought and feeling, with a point of view and spiritual needs radically at variance with those of the genteel courtiers at Kyōto. The "man that handled the bow and arrow," as the warrior styled himself, was habitually animated by a strong sense of honor which was based upon valor and loyalty and which was enforced by a rigorous social sanction. In his community, society did not touch the individual in a manner which was, as at the Court of Kyōto, dull and capricious, but, on the contrary, called directly upon the keenest sense of his personal honor to be defended and asserted at the point of the sword. For the first time in Japanese social history, it may be said, the individual found his fame and fate in a large measure dependent upon his character and action, or, in other words, within his responsibility and moral control. Moreover, his calling required in the warrior a state of constant

readiness for the taking and giving of life, — a fact which compelled him to regard death as a continual presence and to view life as a serious business to be dealt with soberly and courageously.

It would seem clear that the ritualistic, passive, and monastic tenets of Buddhism that had fascinated the civil nobility could hardly satisfy the spiritual demands of men so uncultured, yet so profoundly earnest and so strongly moral in their social sanction. Only a Buddhism that was based upon the pure monism of the Mahâyâna, and therefore simple and clear in its doctrine and encouraging and bright in its promise of salvation or enlightenment, making a direct appeal to his bare, unlettered human nature, might be expected ultimately to win the heart of the *samurai*.

Before the feudal society finally found a form of Buddhism that met these demands satisfactorily, a temporary haven was found in another doctrine, until later it was largely replaced by the more effective teaching and abandoned to the non-feudal classes of people. This transitional Buddhism of the *samurai* was mainly the Zhōdo doctrine; it taught the reception of the soul after death into the perpetually blissful paradise of the West by virtue of faith reposed while on earth in the saving power of the Buddha Amita. Without touching on many problems that arise in relation to the nature of the history of this doctrine in Japan, we shall be content with the following brief observations concerning its place in the social history of Japanese Buddhism.

In this school of Buddhism, the idea of the transitory and karmic world formed as important a religious motive as in some of the beliefs current among the Court nobles. In the application of the idea, however, the emphasis had shifted from a passive consideration of the present as the karmic results of an unknown past to an earnest solicitude as to the future destiny of the soul. Salvation after death was, in fact, the sole, ardent prayer of the true Amitaist. Whatever the past, the present must embody its *karma*, and by present faith and surrender must the past *karma* be extinguished and the future of the soul be saved. Simple as this change from the earlier view might seem, it was little short of a complete alteration of the religious centre of gravity, so to speak, and indicated the rise of a much simpler and purer faith than had obtained before. And it is clear that the change was in

a large measure due to the great fact that the problem of life and death constantly stared the warrior in the face. It was but a normal course of events in his life of warfare that he should take others' lives and himself be abruptly taken away from his comrades and kin, and it was but natural that he should, as he did, awake some day to a sense of sin and repentance and a desire for future salvation with a characteristic militant ardor which would have surprised the Kyōto noble.

Simple and direct as the new scheme of salvation seemed, however, it was a salvation promised beyond the grave. During his lifetime the devotee was taught to find the repose of his mind in a full assurance of the saving virtue of his faith in a transcendental Buddha, or, if a pure and sustained faith was impossible in his activity as a warrior, to retire from society and devote his remaining days to a monastic life. These features of the Zhōdo Buddhism, so briefly enumerated here, suggest reasons as to why it was found at once acceptable as a temporary shelter for the *samurai* but ultimately unsatisfactory as a solution of problems raised by the exacting spiritual demands of an age of strife. A monastic life was utterly incompatible with the intensely worldly activity of the warrior, nor could the promised peace of mind in secular life be attained, even with the purest faith in his capacity, amid the sanguine warfare that was his vocation. The warrior in full activity needed a philosophy more robust and radical that should deliver his mind from darkness and fear on earth and during life, raise him above all concern of life and death, impel him to a positive, creative activity in the heart of the strenuous life raging about him, and, if possible, give him not only an undaunted courage but also a perfect freedom and control of his body and mind, enabling him to meet with readiness whatever confronted him. When the warrior became conscious of these needs, he was also aware that the Zhōdo doctrine could hardly satisfy them all, and found in another form of Buddhism ready at hand a discipline which responded to his moral needs and at the same time became strengthened by an intimate contact with his sterner characteristics. This was the Zen Buddhism. From the end of the twelfth century, therefore, the warrior turned more and more to Zen, as time advanced, and left Zhōdo more and more to the

peace-loving peasantry, — the peasantry whose social status was later to rise considerably and whose Zhōdo was accordingly destined to grow in influence. We must now leave the peasant class with its Zhōdo, and turn to the warrior and Zen.

V

It is needless to inquire into the history of the *dhyana* or *zen* school of Buddhist thought, for we are concerned with the social reactions of Buddhism, not its doctrinal aspects. We shall, for our purpose, regard Zen rather as a method of spiritual training than as a system of philosophy. It is, however, necessary to remark that the whole philosophical basis of this training was the universal Way or Law, or truth, of the Mahâyâna Buddhism asserted without compromise or admixture. The Way was in free operation at all times and in all places, and "existed in all men, each holding it in a perfect state;" it was his "Buddha-nature," independent of his birth and death. It was, however, obscured in man before his enlightenment; the enlightenment consisted in dispelling the common illusions of self that fettered and blinded men, and in restoring their "original features" and regaining the freedom of the Way operating through themselves. The object was, therefore, not an accumulation of knowledge or of merit, nor a dependence on a transcendental deity, but a purely independent effort of the disciple to penetrate beneath the bed-rock of his ego until the pure spring of the free ego should gush forth.

For this high consummation, the method that Zen required was of utmost boldness and rigor. In the earlier stages of the training, the common method in use was as follows. Taking a posture of the body calculated to enable the mind to operate with the greatest possible energy and intensity, its entire powers were focussed upon the solution of a series of problems propounded by the master. These problems, as, for example, "the sound of one hand," "I prior to the birth of my parents," "A puppy possesses no Buddha-nature," and the like, may be characterized as epitomizing in various degrees of depth the illusory contradictions of the world. Nor was the solution of any problem attainable by the ordinary intellectual processes of reasoning or intuition, but by no less than

the forcing of one's being, so to speak, into the heart of one problem after another through a concentrated effort of all his mental strength, and the conquering of the seeming contradiction of the problem by a virtual enacting of its mystery in his mind. And the method was possible only with a tremendous determination to stake one's life and death on its issue.

One effect that the warrior received from a rigorous, protracted training in Zen, was a great capacity for the concentration, control, and direction of his physical and mental resources. The spirit of boldness and free control developed by the training entered into the life and all the martial arts of the warrior after the thirteenth century, as deeply as the passive sense of *karma* entertained by the Court nobles of the eleventh had influenced their sentiment and literature.

Valuable for the warrior as were the qualities of concentration and control, a far greater gift was in store for a chosen few among the militant pupils of Zen. For, it is said, if the discipline was persisted in for a sufficiently long period, a sudden "enlightenment" would supervene, in which one's "body and mind would of themselves fall off, and his 'original features' be revealed." He would be completely lifted above life and death, for he would have attained the eternal, universal Mind and found his personal place therein. Moreover, the enlightened warrior, having entered the free operation of the Way, would gain a degree of freedom and ease and the celerity of vision and action that would enable him to meet whatever sudden crisis confronted him. An agent free and identified with the active principle of the world, he would stand in the heart of the moving life and become a centre of positive, creative activity in society. Buddhism would seem at last to have become a purely active motive power; the positive element of Buddha's teaching so long obscured by its negative aspects would seem to have reached through Zen the utmost degree of masculine, free, and creative spiritual energy. The growth of Mahâyâna in a warlike age, with all its characteristics and limitations, could hardly have been purer or more complete.

Of the three great problems of feudal life, — the attitude regarding life and death, the business and art of warfare, and the ethical principles of honor and loyalty, — it will be seen that Zen

met the first two with an effectiveness immeasurably greater than that of the Zhōdo Buddhism. As for the third, namely, the loyalty and honor of the warrior, Buddhism, from its intrinsic nature, never throughout the feudal ages seemed capable of establishing an organic relation with them. These principles were adequately enforced by a strong social sanction, and then after 1600 certain aspects of Confucianism proved of readier service in the inculcation of the principles than any form of Buddhism had been.

We have been concerned primarily with the social reactions of Buddhism in relation to the ruling classes in the successive periods of Japanese history between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries. All the more important phases of the Mahâyâna Buddhism may be said to have come or been imparted to Japan by 1250. Henceforth, one may note, among other things, an increasing influence of Zen upon the warrior along the lines already indicated. Likewise, there followed a gradual permeation, through literature, landscape painting, decorative art, tea ceremony, and many details of the daily life of all classes, into the very habit of mind of the Japanese race relative to man and Nature, of the Zen ideal of culture, — an ideal which may perhaps be defined as: the perfect control of concentrated energy, and the simplest expression of deepest study and meaning. It, however, falls beyond the scope of the present essay to trace these and other far-reaching influences of Buddhism upon the national life of Japan after the thirteenth century.

NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN

J. Macmillan Brown

There are three and only three temperate-zone insular countries of some size that lie across the latitudes and off continental coasts, — the British Isles, Japan, and New Zealand. The history of the first two reveals the importance of their unique position. It is out of the temperate zone alone that the makers of history have come; for there alone is nature in the mean, neither too lavish of her gifts, nor too niggardly; she gives stimulus and discipline without either pampering or oppressing; the winter is not too long to crush advance, yet long enough to compel strenuous work for the support and expansion of life, and to evolve forethought for the preservation of all that has been won. Doubtless it was in this zone that man first became distinctly human, as it is in this that he has made his slow progress towards the conquest of nature.

When he attained to imperial organization and ambition, the consequences of these — war, conquest, and defeat — brought out the disadvantages of a continental position for a nation or race that wished to progress peacefully; there are no complete natural boundaries, and national frontiers have no fixity. The insular nation, once it reaches unity, is, as Shakespeare saw when he put these words into the mouth of the dying John of Gaunt in Richard II,

> "set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house
> Against the envy of less happier lands."
> It is "a fortress built by nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war."

Not even the recent conquest of the air has changed this aspect; for great armies cannot be conveyed with any more safety athwart

the air than across the intervening sea so long as the insular nation keeps virile and progressive. Maritime experience and habits give a natural ascendancy in aerial warfare to a sailor race. This natural immunity of an insular nation from successful invasion makes it less timid or exacting in its admission of alien immigrants and alien elements of culture, whilst the wanderings of its sailors in foreign lands breed tolerance of alien manners and creeds, if not receptiveness of alien ideas. The result is a never-ceasing hybridization of both the race and the culture that adds strength instead of weakness to the national morals. For nature must have an infinite variety of crosses to work upon, if she is to make the most of an environment and evolve the largest number of competitive types that are suited to it.

This is true of all large islands that lie in the track of commerce. But it is most true of those that stretch north and south and so have considerable variations in zones of climate. So soon as their peoples become unified under a stable and efficient government, the constant intercommunication leads to as constant crossing of the various types that are naturally bred in the different environments. There is thus a never-failing fountain of new varieties for the law of selection to work upon and an unceasing source of new energies and talents. The endurance and vigor naturally bred in the zones that are farthest from the tropics correct the natural tendency to luxury and indulgence that is apt to appear in the warmer and more genial zones. Where the islands lie along the latitudes like Cyprus and Crete, all the people are made in the same mould and the result is a national inbreeding that tends to increase the weaknesses of a race. A history of the ancient civilizations of these two Mediterranean islands so recently unearthed brings out the national defects of their position along the latitudes. The various strata reveal the brevity of their periods of culture, each degenerating rapidly and having to be renewed by stimulus from without, whilst when the vigorous Hellenes burst in from the north the history of the civilization finally closed. Had they lain across the latitudes, the devotion to freedom which their maritime habits gave them would have found deep root in the variety of talent and energy that their varying environment would have evolved. Their insular position and maritime pursuits and vir-

tues did not save them from the ultimate debacle; whilst their proximity to the older Egyptian and Mesopotamian empires, to which they must have acted as commercial intermediaries, only hurried it on by giving their peoples too easy-won wealth and luxury.

It may seem presumptuous to compare so insignificant a country as New Zealand, lying as she does at what may be called the end of the world, with these great buried empires or with the great existing nations of Japan and Britain. But it is only a little over half a century old, and nature works on small as on great by the same unchanging laws. Where the environment is similar, so also will be the career and destiny.

And it was its isolation in the hemisphere of waters that kept New Zealand, as it kept Australia, out of history. She lay on the way to nowhither. And for thousands of years she was the far-off terminus of the navigation-track of a long-isolated people — the Polynesians. Not till quite recent times did the Pacific Ocean enter into the sphere of history. Only the coastal fringe of Asia was of any consequence to civilization. It was the same with the Atlantic during the many thousands of years in which first the Persian Gulf and then the Mediterranean was evolving commercial and imperial man. Not till the compass gave confidence to sea-daring did its turn come. And now there is every indication that the Pacific Ocean, the greatest of all, is about to come into its supreme heritage and destiny. The peoples of the world have been gathering to its shores and islands. As the Suez Canal was a symbol of the new bond between the long-divorced East and West, so the Panama Canal indicates how strongly the face of mankind is turning to the greatest of oceans, on the shores of which with its adjoining seas more than half the human race already resides. And within a few generations two thirds will be vitally related to it, if not actually inhabiting its lands. The accelerated speed of human transit on the sea and in the air will before long reduce its dimensions to even less than the Mediterranean had to the minds of the ancients.

Then New Zealand will be, like Japan, in the forefront of the world and will fully realize the prediction of its epithet "The Britain of the South." For though it is many degrees nearer the

tropics than its motherland, it stands in the eye of the Antarctic, and has no Gulf Stream to modify the energizing effect of the breezes from that frozen continent. It has none of the extremes of climate of so many of the shores of the North Atlantic; yet it has so many varieties of climate that it seems to be a museum of climatic samples from all extra-tropical lands. Much of the North Island never sees snow except upon the winter-peaks of mountains; whilst much of the South Island has as fine opportunities for skiing and skating as Switzerland or Norway. The result will be that it will have a much greater range of human type for nature to select from than its prototype has or ever can have. It will never have so stormy a history as the old land; for it does not lie so close to a continent full of ambitious powers. But it will contribute, as it has already contributed, much fire and energy to the administration and defence of the British Empire. Brief though its history has been, it has added some fine material to the army and civil service in India as well as one or two of the foremost names to English science and art and literature. When it comes to its full maturity and can count its population by tens of millions, as it will do at some not distant date, its varied environment and its strenuous climate will ensure a greater supply of talent and enterprise than its size or increase in census would lead us to expect.

It differs from the homeland in many other respects. It is, and for many geological ages has been, an oceanic land separated by deep and broad stretches of sea from all other land, whilst Britain is an annex of Europe and was in quite recent geological ages a part of it. The stretch of ocean round New Zealand will make its people ultimately even more maritime than their British ancestry. For it is twelve hundred miles from Australia and thousands of miles from every other inhabited continent. But it is inferior to Britain in the extent of its protected waters, the nursery of seamen — a defect which will be remedied when population spreads to the great fiords on the southwest coast. After the Pacific becomes the greatest ocean in population-fringe and in commerce as in extent, it will not be unworthy of the name "Britain of the South" in its maritime and naval functions.

Another essential difference between the motherland and the

daughterland is the scale of the scenery. New Zealand has mountain ranges, peaks, glaciers, and lakes that place it in the same category as Switzerland, whilst its fiords will not suffer by comparison with those of Norway. The combination is of great importance for the future of the country and its people. Its lofty mountain-ranges and the great rainfall on its west coasts gives it an enormous waterpower, which when harnessed, as it now begins to be, will place it in the front rank of manufacturing countries; and, when it has the great population it will be well able to support, its high valleys and plateaux will be, like those of Switzerland, full of industrial towns and villages. And with both a mountain-people and a sea-people within its borders it will surely be a lover of freedom and an efficient defender of its own independence and of the liberty and love of justice of English-speaking peoples.

When the last dream of world-conquest and world-power shall have been dreamt and shattered, when the last military autocrat and the last military bureaucracy have met the fate of Napoleon, when East and West have settled their differences and their long divorce, when mankind shall have attained that federation of nations at peace which is the ideal of all thoughtful and wise men, then, from her environment, her oceanic position and her mountainous character, it may be predicted that New Zealand will be one of the foremost champions of freedom and peace for all men.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

Abp.	= Archbishop.	N. M.	= New Mexico.
Bp.	= Bishop.	P. I.	= Philippine Islands.
B. C.	= British Columbia.	S. F.	= San Francisco.
H. B. C.	= Hudson Bay Company.	U. S.	= United States.
G. G.	= Governor-General.		

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